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174 clear picture of what went on. As each tribe recorded its own affairs with relatively little attention to those of its neighbors, cross references are rare. History, in our modern sense of utilizing past trends to chart the present and the future, did not exist in the intellectual structure of ancient Mexico, and the traditions of the successive tribal immigrations are in confusing disagreement (Table IV).

P A 175 The histories of five towns summarize this period: Culhuacan,* Texcoco, Azcapotzalco, Cholula,† and Tenochtitlan‡ (Table VI). According to the *Annals of Cuauhtitlan*,§ a long, confused record referring to Culhuacan, Tenochtitlan and the politically insignificant Cuauhtitlan, the Culhuas conquered the Toltecs and lived for a time at their ancient capital Tula. The location of this Toltec capital is not clearly stated, but it was on the west side of the lake and may have been either the late Toltec site of Azcapotzalco or the modern Tula, which has some late Toltec remains but presents more evidence of a heavy Mazapan occupation.[1]

The Culhuas later withdrew southward to Culhuacan, where they established a lineage of chiefs, the length of whose reigns they carefully recorded in their annals. In the middle of the thirteenth century a new dynasty came in which the historians called "Chichimec"; it replaced the older line which they called "Toltec." References were made to struggles with other tribes, chiefly at the northern end of the lakes, but there was trouble with the southern towns as well (Table VI).

At the end of the fourteenth century civil war broke out and people deserted Culhuacan, which became weak and a

*Cool-wah-ca'n.
†Cho-lo'o-la.
‡Ten-otch-ti-tla'n.
§Kwow-ti-tla'n.

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shadow of its former self. The rise of a new power, the Tepanec, who had as allies the vigorous but ill-established Tenochcas,* contributed to its downfall. Yet before Culhuacan succumbed completely to vassalage under the new order, members of its reigning house had twice been sought to found the lineage of Tenochtitlan.

On the documentary evidences Culhuacan was an extremely important city-state. The consecutive reigns of its chiefs stretched from the time of the fall of the western Toltec Empire to that of the rise of the important Aztec state of Tenochtitlan. Culhuacan was considered a center of civilization and for three centuries was a major power in the Valley of Mexico. Yet a visit to the modern town discloses no lofty remains, for the ancient city is razed completely. Only the temple on the Hill of the Star, which rises behind the town and dominates the lakes, is a memorial to its past splendor. For here took place, even after the Culhuas had lost their power, the New Fire Ceremony which ushered in each new cycle of fifty-two years and epitomized the spirit of Aztec religion.

Texcoco on the eastern shore of the lakes of Mexico was the most civilized town in the Valley of Mexico at the time of the Conquest. Ixtlilxochitl, a descendant of the ruling house, had access to the annals of his people and left a full history, distorted though it was by his wish to make his lineage rival the noble lines of Castile; but he had a strong historical sense, doubtless absorbed from the Spanish priests who educated him. His ancestors were a nomadic group which lived mainly by hunting and eventually, under a chief named Xolotl,† occupied the territory around Teotihuacan.

*Te-no'tch-cas. †Sho'-lotle.

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They pushed west to Tenayuca* and in the process learned agriculture and assumed a sedentary life. While there they met other tribes of varying degrees of culture and assumed the practice of choosing a chief from a special lineage instead of electing him directly from the clan leaders.[2]

About 1300 two brothers were in line for succession to the chieftainship and one Tlotzin, who was not selected, moved back to Texcoco and headed his own line. When he died and his son Quinatzin† took the throne two tribes moved into his territory from the Mixteca area in northern Oaxaca and southern Puebla. They brought with them the worship of the god Tezcatlipoca, the art of writing and many other useful skills. So completely did these people transform life at Texcoco that the picture manuscripts portrayed the local population clad in skins and the immigrants in woven clothing to emphasize the contrast between their own culture and the superior talents of the newcomers. Quinatzin, who was an extraordinarily competent ruler, extended his dominions greatly by conquering many adjacent communities. The idea of absorbing conquered towns into the victorious state, so obvious to a modern member of western civilization, had not yet occurred to the Mexicans. Instead, defeated towns retained their local autonomy; but they paid a yearly tribute and their chiefs had to make a state visit to acknowledge their fealty to the conqueror. Quinatzin had some seventy towns as fiefs, and his dominion projected down to the shore of Vera Cruz. His successor, Techotlala, succeeded in unifying the Valley dialects into one language, Aztec.

Texcoco and Culhuacan never came into direct conflict, for they were situated at opposite ends of the Lake of Mexico.

*Te-nah-yo'o-ca. †Kee-nat-se'en.

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There is evidence, too, that the Valley was not completely settled, for in the mid-thirteenth century the Tenochca were able to thread their way south to Chapultepec* without coming into serious conflict with the settled populations.[a]

However, in the mid-fourteenth century there was serious conflict. A tribe called the Tepanec, which lived at Azcapotzalco, outgrew its boundaries. Led by an able and vicious chief, Tezozomoc,† it began to extend its territories. Culhuacan felt the pressure first, and internal discord developed, as it must when a nation cannot feed itself and has no room to expand. Some of the Culhuas moved up to Texcoco along the eastern shore and added their long-practiced skills to those of the Texcocan community. The Tepanec, blocked to the south by dense populations and to the west by high mountain walls, turned north and east to raid and occupy Texcocan lands. Otomi‡ tribes, whose territory lay on the islands and the eastern shore of Lake Xaltocan, were pinched between the opposing forces who would brook no neutrality. They moved north, and the two great powers, Tepanecs and Texcocans, came into direct contact and war ensued. Tezozomoc won a signal victory, broke Texcoco and alienated her vassals. He quickly dominated the rest of the Valley towns, almost obliterating the empty shell of Culhuacan's former dominance. His son Maxtla§ succeeded this vigorous and ruthless conqueror in 1427. Having the northern Valley at his feet, he oppressed the conquered and interfered in the affairs of former allies like Tenochtitlan. Yet he was to enjoy his conquests only a bare two years.[a]

Indian governmental practice extracted tribute from conquered tribes, but had not developed a technique for forcing

*Cha-po'ol-tepec. †To-zo'z-o-moc. ‡Ot-o-mi'e. §Ma'sh-tla.

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payment without declaring a new war and making a fresh campaign. Consequently a bond of sympathy forged from mutually shared ill-fortune grew up between otherwise somewhat hostile communities. Tenochtitlan and Tlacopan,* towns at the backdoor of Tepanec territory, made a pact with Texcoco across the lake; and the allies, rising suddenly, overthrew the new power. Maxtla was slain, his city burned and, contrary to the practice of the time, his people incorporated into the allied tribes. Land was apportioned to warriors who had performed notable feats of valor. So completely did the allies break the Tepanecs, that all that remains of their history is the memory of Tezozomoc and Maxtla and some petty local chieftains who succeeded them.

The Texcocans regained their prestige after this war, but the Tenochcas, who had begun as mere vassals, grew so rapidly in strength that at the coming of the Spaniards they had managed to eclipse their former lords, as we shall see in the following chapter.

These events disclose a picture of expanding populations and ensuing intertribal conflict. This cultural history shows a diffuse background of tribal arts and practices gradually welded into a closely similar whole, Aztec civilization. The process was achieved before Tenochtitlan attained eminence, so at the cost of academic tediousness the term Aztec has been reserved for the civilization, Tenochca for the people who so conspicuously made it known.

The civilization of Teotihuacan disappeared before the infiltration of intruding tribes. The nomadic groups referred to in the chronicles have left no identifiable remains. Hunters reduced to the bare necessities which they can carry on their

*Tla-co'-pan.

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Mexican origin spread through the length and breadth of Middle America. Just so the Christian religion had a ready acceptance in Indian America when the missionaries were backed by such redoubtable exponents of our gentle faith as Cortes, Pizarro and their coadjutors.

TABLE VI

SUMMARY OF CHICHIMEC AND DYNASTIC TOLTEC HISTORY

950–1100, Early Chichimec Period

Eastern Phase: Contact with Toltecs at Tula (Teotihuacan) under Xolotl; Tenayuca I pottery; rude culture.

Western Phase: Teotihuacan V and western Toltec Empire at Tula (Azcapotzalco).

1100–1247, Middle Chichimec Period

Eastern Phase: Tenayuca occupation by immigrants; replacement of Toltecs at Tula (Tula); tribal government; foundation of Texcocan Chichimec lineage in 1232; development of fiefs; introduction of Mazapan culture.

Western Phase: Destruction of Toltecs at Tula (Azcapotzalco); movement to Culhuacan; foundation of Culhuacan "Toltec" lin-

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eage in 1114; adoption of Coyotlatelco ceramics; first Aztec cycle counted, 1143–95; second Aztec cycle counted, 1195–1247.

		Rulers		
Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Coatlinchan*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Nauhyotl (d. 1124 after 60 years)			Xolotl 1115–1232	
Cuauhtexpetlatzin 1124–81	Teiztlacohuatzin 1160–1226			
Hoetzin 1181–1202				
Nonoalcatl 1202–1223				
Achitometl 1223–37	Quinatzin 1226–99			
Cuauhtonal 1237–51				

1247–99, Late Chichimec-Aztec I Period

Eastern Phase: Establishment of Texcoco as Chichimec capital under Quinatzin in 1298; persistence of Mazapan culture in east; penetration of Coyotlatelco and temple cult to Tenayuca(?).

Western Phase: Foundation of new dynasty at Culhuacan in 1251; introduction of Aztec I pottery at Culhuacan, with Pueblan origins; construction of Building I at Tenayuca(?); Cholula rebuilt (Altar de los Craneos); Cholula III pottery; Tenochcas at Chapultepec; third Aztec cycle counted, 1247–99.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Coatlinchan*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
New Lineage Mazatzin 1251–74			*Lineage Begins* Nopaltzin 1232–63	
Quetzaltzin 1274–87		Cozcoxoctzin 1282–88	Tlotzin 1263–98	Huitzilhuitl 1235–98
Chalchihuitlatonac 1287–1304				

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[173 [805] cas started their wanderings in 1168 A.D., though this date is arbitrary and possibly represents the date of the invention of the calendar system in vogue in Central Mexico.[1] At first they lived on an island in a lake in western Mexico and crossed in boats to the shore. In a hillside cave they found an idol of Huitzilopochtli (Hummingbird Wizard), which had the useful ability to speak and give them good advice. The accounts differ, and some have the Tenochcas starting off on their travels with several other tribes from a group of caves in which they originated. The names of the tribes are seldom the same in any two annals, but they always refer to important tribal entities at the time the particular history was inscribed (Table VII). These beginnings may be considered as formalized origin myths without historical significance.[2] (See Plate 62, middle right.)

The Tenochcas carried their new god's image with them on their journey. At each stopping place they set him up to be worshiped, and in return he advised them. Their method of procedure was to stay a year or more at a given place, while pioneers searched the land for another site and planted a crop there to harvest when the whole tribe arrived. The list of stopping places is highly dubious, and the different traditions disagree. Not until the tribes reached the lakes of Mexico are the localities mentioned easily identifiable or in common accord.

● 175 The Tenochcas entered the lakes from the northwest, via Tula and Zumpango, so there may be a basis for believing their original home was in Michoacan.* They seem to have [648] made every effort to avoid fighting by keeping away from settled lands. At one place they split up; at another they sac-

*Mich-o-a-ca'n.

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At one place they split up; at another they sacrificed three individuals, according to the prescribed ritual of opening up the stomach and tearing out the heart; and at a third place they learned how to make pulque.

Their records make little reference to the tribes already in the Valley, and their own entrance was relatively unnoticed by the others. However, the hieroglyph of Tezozomoc in one manuscript suggests the obvious conclusion that they had to have Tepanec permission to pass through Azcapotzalco and settle at Chapultepec, where the beautiful park now is. Here they remained happily for nearly a generation. Their neighbors seem to have been small but growing communities, so that conflict was inevitable. The Tenochcas began the strife because their young men went up the lake to Tenayuca to raid and steal wives, a common North American Indian method of gaining prestige. Their more powerful neighbors became irritated and made up a punitive expedition in which Tepanecs, Culhuas and Xochimilcas took part. The result was horrid: the Tenochca chief Huitzilhuitl* and most of the tribe had to go to Culhuacan territory to dwell in serfdom, while the rest escaped to the lake where some low-lying islands offered refuge. The main body stayed in Tizapan,† near the present San Angel, where they were under the eye of Coxcox,‡ the chief of Culhuacan. The Tenochcas detested the waste which was barren in all except poisonous snakes and insects. Huitzilopochtli they still enshrined, but his worth had sunk so low that the Culhuas came to mock him at his shrine and toss nameless filth into the temple.*

Finally, however, the tide turned. Coxcox became involved in a war with Xochimilco and called upon his vassals to aid him. When the Tenochcas reached the field of battle

*Wee-tze'el-weed. †Tee-za-pa'n. ‡Cosh-cosh.

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when the Tenochcas reached the field of battle

they rushed to the attack and took no less than thirty prisoners, from each of whom they detached an ear with their obsidian knives before sending him to the rear. After the battle Coxcox made a speech praising the valor of his forces in taking so many prisoners but denigrating the Tenochcas who came back empty handed. The vassals waited until their lord had finished speaking and then inquired of him why each captive was short an ear. The attention of the Culhuas being riveted to this extraordinary circumstance, the Tenochcas opened their pouches and displayed the missing ears, proving beyond cavil the measure of their prowess. Clearly the war-sacrifice cult had reached the Valley by this time, for the emphasis set on the taking of prisoners indicates that this was one of the chief purposes of war. Furthermore, a drawing shows the later sacrifice of the prisoners, a cult practice the accomplishment of which was to make the Aztecs dreaded by other tribes throughout the length and breadth of Mexico.

So great had the prestige of the Tenochcas become that they went to their lord, Coxcox, and asked for his daughter as a wife for their chief so that they might found a dynasty. Coxcox granted their request, and the Tenochcas were so overcome with gratitude that they sacrificed the luckless girl and draped her skin on a priest to impersonate a nature goddess, Toci. Then with somewhat less than tact they invited the father to the ceremony. He, expecting a marriage celebration, was utterly horrified and summoned his warriors, to exterminate the Tenochcas who forthwith fled to the lake, rejoining their brethren already there.

There were two communities on the islands at the middle of the fourteenth century: Tenochtitlan, which seems to

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have become an entity in 1325, and Tlaltelolco,* which was founded about the same time. They both were havens for malcontents from the mainland, and about the middle of the century each was large enough to petition the mainland tribes for a chief to found a dynasty. Tlaltelolco received a leader from the Tepanecs, and the Tenochcas again induced Culhuacan to provide them with a chief, Acamapichtli.† The accounts vary as to whether or not he arrived as a lad accompanied by his mother. The *Annals of Cuauhtitlan* mention that at this time the Tenochcas were erecting houses of stone, an indication that a community had to reach a definite stage of development before enjoying the prestige of an important lineage.

In the time of Acamapichtli the Tenochcas were tributaries and allies of the Tepanec and fought successfully against Tenayuca and Culhuacan. Yet their field of operations was minute, and a morning's automobile ride will enable the curious to see the whole scene of Tenochcan history. Huitzilhuitl II succeeded Acamapichtli at his death and prudently ensured the future of the nascent state by marrying the daughter of Tezozomoc. He was chief during the final struggle between the two great lake powers, the Tepanecs and the Texcocans, a war which ended in the death of the Texcocan chief, Ixtlilxochitl, and the dispersal of his fiefs.

Chimalpopoca‡ succeeded his half brother Huitzilhuitl, and his reign was fraught with disaster. Tezozomoc died, and his son Maxtla succeeded him at the cost of murdering a brother. Maxtla was frankly out for power and kept the city-

*Tlal-tel-o'l-co. ‡Chee-mal-po-po'-ca.
†Ah-cam-a-pe'ech-tli.

[text continues on p. 97]

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TABLE VIII

SUMMARY OF AZTEC HISTORY BEFORE THE RISE OF TENOCHTITLAN

1299–1351, Early Aztec II Period

Eastern Phase: Introduction of picture writing and other arts at Texcoco by people from the Mixteca; adoption of Aztec IIa pottery.

Western or Culhua Phase: Cyclical reconstruction at Tenayuca, Building II; adoption of Aztec IIa pottery, retention of Coyotlatelco (?) pottery; revolt of Tenochcas at Chapultepec, settlement of Tenochtitlan; fourth Aztec cycle counted, 1299–1351.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Cuauhtlix 1304–11	Tezcaltecutli 1299–1338	Miahuatonaltzin 1290–1300		
Yohuallatonac 1311–21		Axayaltzin 1300–08		Tenoch(?)
Tziuhtecatzin 1321–34	Vactli 1339–49	Atzatzamaltzin 1308–24	Quinatzin 1298–1357	
Xihuitlemoc 1334–51		Totepeuhtecutli 1324–43		*Lineage Begins*
		Epcoatzin 1343–54		Queen Ilancueitl 1349–83

1351–1403, Late Aztec II Period

Eastern Phase: Unification of language by Techotlala; political and cultural dominance of Texcoco; Aztec IIb pottery and homogeneity of culture; Cholula IV pottery; cyclical dumps at Chiconauhtla.

Western Phase: Decadence of Culhuacan; rise of Tepanecs at Azcapotzalco; cyclical reconstruction of Tenayuca, Building IV, Aztec transition; captive Tenochcas escape to build in stone and adopt lineage pattern with Acamapichtli; fifth Aztec cycle counted, 1351–1403.

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Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Coxcox 1352–76	Queen Ehualyenitzin 1368–72	Quetzalmichin 1354–65		
				Acamapichtli 1375–95
Acamapichtli 1376–88	Tematzacocuitzin 1373–78	Mamaxtzin 1369–89	Techotlala 1357–1409	
Achitomel 1388–1400	Tlacateotzin 1379–89	Pichaxtzin 1389–92		Huitzilhuitl II 1395–1414

TABLE IX

SUMMARY OF AZTEC HISTORY AFTER THE RISE OF TENOCHTITLAN

1403–55, Early Aztec III Period

Eastern Phase: Political elimination of Texcoco in first half of period with later recovery; prosperity and cultural advance under Nezahualcoyotl; expansion of palace at Chiconauhtla; Aztec IIIa pottery; Cholula V pottery; cyclical dumps at Chiconauhtla and Los Melones, Texcoco.

Western Phase: Political extinction of Culhuacan; rise and fall of Tepanecs; rise of Tenochtitlan with organization of Triple Alliance; growth of conquest and war-captive pattern; cyclical reconstruction at Tenayuca, Building IV; cyclical dump in Zocalo, Mexico City; broad diffusion of Aztec IIIa pottery; sixth Aztec cycle counted, 1403–55.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
Nauhyotl 1400–13	Xaltemoc 1390–98 (1408)	Tepolozmayotl 1393–1415	Ixtlilxochitl 1409–18	Chimalpopoca 1414–28
			Tepanec Tyrants Tezozomoc 1343–1427	Itzcoatl 1428–40
			Maxtla 1427–29	
			Texcocan Lineage Resumed Nezahualcoyotl 1418–72	Montezuma I 1440–69

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1455–1507, Late Aztec III Period

172 174 ●175 *Eastern Phase:* Continued development of culture at Texcoco; growth of Chiconauhtla palace; elaboration of ceramics; Aztec IIIb pottery; cyclical dump at Chiconauhtla.

Western Phase: Political power of Tenochtitlan; extension of conquest over Mexico and Guatemala; reconstruction of great temple; increase in captive sacrifice; elaboration of ritual; diffusion of Aztec IIIb pottery; cyclical reconstruction at Tenayuca, Building V; cyclical dump at Nonoalco, Mexico City; seventh Aztec cycle counted, 1455–1507.

Culhuacan	*Cuauhtitlan*	*Cuitlahuac*	*Texcoco*	*Tenochtitlan*
unimportant	unimportant	unimportant	Nezahualpilli 1472–1516	Axayacatl 1469–81
				Tizoc 1481–86
				Ahuitzotl 1486–1503

1507–1519 (Conquest) Aztec IV

Eastern Phase: Growing friction between Texcoco and Tenochtitlan; last expansion of Chiconauhtla palace; Aztec IV pottery styles with good life forms. Conquest.

Western Phase: Tenochtitlan domination with coercion of Texcoco; maintenance of old conquests rather than success of new ones; cyclical reconstruction of Tenayuca, Building VI; Aztec IV pottery with many life forms; eighth Aztec cycle counted, 1507–59, incomplete with Conquest.

Texcoco	*Tenochtitlan*
Cacama 1516–19	Montezuma II 1503–20
	Cuitlahuac 1520 (4 months)
	Cuauhtemoc 1520–24 (murdered on way to Honduras)

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● 175 states of the valley in a ferment of intrigue and oppression. Finally he murdered Chimalpopoca and also the chief of the neighboring town of Tlaltelolco, adding insult to injury, according to Indian thinking, by stepping up the tribute payments as well.

The people of Tenochtitlan were seething with indignation, and the small mainland town of Tlacopan (Tacuba) was sympathetic to the oppressed. Nezahualcoyotl,* the legitimate successor to the chieftainship of Texcoco, had taken to the hills after the defeat of his nation and was stirring up opposition to the enemy. He induced the Tenochcas under their new chief Itzcoatl† to attack Azcapotzalco through the back door of Tlacopan, while he rallied the Texcocans and their tributaries to assault the enemy with columns coming both by canoe and overland around the lakes. After a long war of several weeks the allies were successful. (See Plate 63.)

Nezahualcoyotl doubtless intended that his state should regain its position as the dominant power in the northern lake country. But he did not realize that when he formed the triple alliance for mutual defense and offensive profit he laid the foundation for a rival state which would surpass Texcoco. The Tenochcas and the Texcocans were each to receive two shares of all loot, the Tlacopans one, but the division was probably liberally interpreted by whichever chanced to be the strongest of the three allies. The Tenochcas gained land on the lake shore, which gave them a strong foothold for further conquest. Since this new territory was granted to the leading warriors, a caste of power and wealth was established. Thus outwardly the conquest brought the Te-

*Ne-za-wal-co'y-otl. †Eet'z-co-atl.

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●175 nochcas from the condition of a feudal tributary to that of an independent state. Inwardly there was a change of feeling, a shift from an inferiority to a superiority complex. Itzcoatl, the fourth Tenochcan chief, expressed this attitude by ordering all the historical picture manuscripts to be burned, "as they were not appreciated by the ordinary people."[8]

From the time of Itzcoatl the state histories are in very close accord. Those written prior to his accession in 1428 exhibit considerable conflict, often resulting in discrepancies of a fifty-two-year cycle or more. I think this lack of agreement arose from the split in the tribal continuity at the time of the Chapultepec defeat in 1300. Part of the tribe refugeed to the islands in the lake and founded a town in 1325 or thereabouts, ruling it under a tribal council and a main chief. The other group was taken to Tizapan and became civilized according to Culhuacan standards. The founding of Tenochtitlan, from their point of view, did not take place until they joined the original colony on the lake where, as soon as possible, they erected stone temples and tried to found a dynasty.

Itzcoatl enabled the Tenochcas to assume Aztec civilization. His historical reforms doubtless coincided with ritualistic regulations as well, for he undertook the construction of temples and the ordering of a religious hierarchy. He ordained the ranks of the civil government and superintended the building of the city, constructing causeways to the mainland to ensure easy access. Systematically Itzcoatl began to mop up those independent Valley tribes not subject to Texcoco; he also won victories and acknowledgments of supremacy from the powerful Chalcas and Xochimilcas, tribes culturally allied more closely to the Puebla groups than to

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those of the northern Valley. To show his independence Itzcoatl had a brush with Nezahualcoyotl's Texcocans, and thereafter the peace between the former allies was somewhat precarious. 175

Montezuma* I, surnamed Ilhuicamina,† the Wrathy, succeeded Itzcoatl after his death in 1440. This chief, already marked as a leader in the wars of Itzcoatl, extended the domination of Tenochtitlan even further. He successfully fought the Chalcas, who detested the tribes of the northern Valley, and crossed the mountains to raid eastward into Puebla and Vera Cruz and southward to conquer towns in Morelos and Guerrero. A fairly close military co-operation must have existed between Texcoco and Tenochtitlan, for conquests claimed for Tenochtitlan by Tenochcan historians appear as gains for Texcoco in the Texcocan annals. Poor Tlacopan disappears from the scene, possibly independent still but certainly unconsidered in the division of pelf, a situation recalling that of Italy in 1918.

Under Montezuma I the cultural aspects of Tenochtitlan progressed mightily. He took measures to ensure the health of his people, building an aqueduct from the springs of Chapultepec to bring an abundance of sweet water to the city. Around the eastern rim of his capital he caused a great dike to be erected to dam off the spread of the lakes during the rainy season.

The conquests into Puebla brought the Tenochcas in touch with the highly developed religion of that area, so that many additional temples were built in honor of gods and goddesses which were revered by the conquered tribes. In times of relative peace he revived the War of Flowers, a

*Mon-tay-zo'o-ma. †Il-wee-cah-me'en-a.

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175 ceremonial contest between warriors of two tribes or groups of tribes, in order that prisoners might be taken for sacrifice without the economic dislocation of formal war. This practice was known long before in the Valley, the Tenochcas participating in such struggles with the Chalcas in 1376–84, but the Tenochcas had been so continuously at war that they were accustomed to take their prisoners the hard way.*

175 731 The crops failed from 1451–56, owing to severe storms and frost. Many people died, and others, unable to support themselves, adopted voluntary slavery in order to share the bounty of the more fortunate. Usually a famine led to increased military activity to replenish the empty larders with supplies exacted as tribute. But in this case the situation was so severe and the Tenochcas so weak that they had to be content with a War of Flowers.

175 Axayacatl* succeeded his father Montezuma I in 1469. He extended Tenochcan domination over a still-wider area, spreading west into the Matlatzinca country and south to Oaxaca and Tehuantepec. He conducted a campaign into the Tarascan territory and met with a dreadful defeat which ensured the independence of these tribes of Michoacan up to their conquest by the Spaniards. This was the only serious Tenochcan military disaster until the grim days of 1519.

Neither Axayacatl nor his successors were able to transform domination of a region into dominion. He did succeed, nevertheless, in reducing the neighboring town of Tlaltelolco, killing its chief and denying its council the right to meet with the Tenochcas in matters of tribal importance. Tlaltelolco up to that time had maintained its independence

*Ash-ay-a'h-catl.

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and had grown at the same rate as Tenochtitlan, aiding in many of the campaigns. It was famous for its merchants; and its market, even after its subjugation, was the greatest in Mexico. Local jealousy, however, did not lead to war until both towns competed in building temples to Huitzilopochtli, the War God. Apparently this competition for divine favor led to war, whereas economic conflict did not. Ridiculously enough the open break was induced by the insulting behavior of the Tlaltelolcan women, who flaunted their backsides at the enraged Tenochcan visitors.[8]

The religious arts reached their full development under Axayacatl. In his time was made the great Calendar Stone which weighs over twenty tons and is twelve feet in diameter. The block was quarried on the mainland, and the allied rulers sent help to drag this gigantic mass across the causeways. Designed to symbolize the Aztec universe, it is a masterly example of a pattern, the detail of which adds, rather than detracts from, the spaciousness of the concept.[9] (See Plate 52, top.)

In 1472, early in the reign of Axayacatl, the life of a great figure in American Indian history, Nezahualcoyotl, came to an end. This Texcocan chief had begun his manhood in political exile fleeing from Tepanec vengeance, but had fought and intrigued his way back into power. He even restored the fortunes of his people who, in the previous century, had rivaled the Culhuacanos in the formative years of Aztec civilization. Nezahualcoyotl had a broad judicial sense which enabled him successfully to elaborate the administrative structure of a far-flung realm. Since the Texcocans, before the Tepanec domination in 1419–28 already had a chain of tribute-paying vassals, this resumption of control in

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175 after years was not so much a conquest as the forceful exercise of due rights.[19]

He took a lively interest in the construction of temples and public buildings so that, for all its tattered decay today, Texcoco was one of the most imposing cities on the Central Plateau. His palace near by and his bath, hewn from the solid rock of Texcotzingo, are visible proof of the rich luxury of his life.

Nezahualcoyotl took a profound interest in religion and the arts. He transformed theological speculation into a philosophy of religion and worshiped a single god, the force through which nature manifests itself and from which the lesser gods derived their power and being. He encouraged the arts and in his own right attained great renown as a poet and orator. The lore of the stars fascinated him, and he had a deep knowledge of the astrological astronomy of his day and age. In contrast to the bleakly austere records of the Tenochca overlords, his career was a model of wise administration. Not the least of Nezahualcoyotl's achievements was his keeping the peace with his arrogant island ally, Tenochtitlan, which was ever ready by intrigue, murder or open warfare to add to its wealth and power.

Nezahualcoyotl was succéeded by his son Nezahualpilli,* who ruled until 1516. The length of his reign indicates the possession of an administrative skill equal to his father's. He successfully undertook a number of conquests, but they are not so dramatized as those of the Tenochcan chiefs.

Nezahualpilli had an interest in astrology, religion and necromancy, as would be natural in a chief whose religious obligations were as onerous as his civil and military duties.

*Ne-zoo-al-pe'el-li.

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His later years were weighted with trouble with Tenochtitlan. He had married a sister of Montezuma II and, as she was unduly free in granting favors to the young men of the court, in 1498 he took advantage of his legal right to kill her. The Tenochcas took this act as a gross personal affront and directed every effort, short of war, to overcoming their ancient ally.[11]

Axayacatl of Tenochtitlan died in 1479, while Nezahualpilli was young in his rule, and his brother Tizoc, who had previously been the war chief, took his place. Tizoc's most important act of office was to begin the reconstruction of the great temple to Huitzilopochtli, the War God, and Tlaloc, the Rain God. In commemoration of his conquests he also had carved the so-called Sacrificial Stone. This monstrous-sized vessel for burning human hearts has a relief on the edge, depicting Tizoc dressed as Huitzilopochtli seizing captives representing tributary tribes. Most of the towns, unfortunately, must have been merely reconquered, since their names appear in the previous conquest lists of earlier rulers. It is not a complete surprise to read in some accounts that Tizoc died of poison administered by chiefs disgusted at his lack of military success.[12]

Ahuitzotl* succeeded his brother Tizoc in 1486. His first task was to complete the great temple the others had begun, in the dedication of which the gathering of sacrificial victims played an important part. He invoked the aid of Nezahualpilli, and the allies made a two-year campaign into northern Oaxaca, amassing no less than twenty thousand victims, the high point of the sacrificial cult in Mexico. At the start of the dedication the captives stood in two rows, and Nezahual-

*Ah'-weet-zotl.

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175 796 pilli and Ahuitzotl began the grisly work of tearing out the victims' hearts. Lesser dignitaries succeeded each other according to rank, until the awful immolation was completed.[13]

175 Ahuitzotl's military campaigns extended south into Guatemala and as far north as the Huaxteca in Vera Cruz. He was [669] constantly engaged in putting down revolts, especially in Puebla, where the Tlaxcalans* and Cholulans had resisted Tenochcan domination. His capital, meanwhile, had grown so enormously that he had to construct another aqueduct, a fact which indicates that sheer pressure of population was an important cause for the military exploits of Tenochtitlan. [731] An unusually disastrous flood beset the city in 1503, so that Ahuitzotl had to send to Texcoco for aid in restoring the dikes. While superintending these public works he received a head injury which proved fatal. Ahuitzotl's personality was strong and vicious. He was passionately fond of war, being a vindictive and relentless foe. Likewise he had those traits which so often accompany military character, lust for women and fondness for display.

The luckless Montezuma II, surnamed Xocoyotzin† (the Younger), son of Axayacatl, succeeded his uncle. Not only had he to keep the conquered tribes in order, but also he had constantly to provide captives for sacrifice. This bloody cult, which to the Tenochcan mind had brought such eminence, [782] had to be maintained lest disaster ensue. He approached his uncle's piety on one occasion when twelve thousand captives from a rebel province in Oaxaca were delivered up to the War God.[14]

The last New Fire Ceremony took place in 1507. The years immediately preceding, with their threat of an ending

*Tlash-ca'-lans. †Sho-coy-ot-se'en.

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world, were especially ominous, since in addition to earthquakes and other supernatural portents word came in of white strangers, propelled in odd craft, who were ranging along the coast. But the ceremony took place, and the world continued. (See Plate 29, top.) 175 ●

Montezuma fought an unsuccessful war against the Tlaxcalans, but at the same time he succeeded in avenging himself on his Texcocan allies for the death of his sister, by allowing their force to be ambushed and wiped out. In 1516, at the death of Nezahualpilli, he appointed his successor without recognizing the choice of the Texcocan council. The ousted candidate revolted and the already strained alliance was broken.[18]

A year later Grijalva* reached Vera Cruz, and in 1519 Cortes started his march to Mexico. Montezuma died that winter, stoned by his own people, according to Spanish accounts; strangled by the Spaniards, in the Indian versions. Cacama succeeded him but died of smallpox within a month, and the last of the free chiefs, Cuauhtemoc,† conducted the heroic defense of Tenochtitlan, only to be hanged four years later on Cortes' march to Honduras.[19]

Thus ends the bare record of Tenochcan history, without a description of the people, their government, their laws, their gods or their arts. Lacking, also, is an account of the clash between the two civilizations: Aztec and Spanish. The records are abundant, and we can form a lifelike picture of the time. Before we examine the nature of Aztec civilization and the causes of its downfall, let us recapitulate briefly the history of the valley tribes before the Conquest.

This chapter has covered the rise of the Tenochcas and

*Gree-ha'l-va. †Kwow-te'y-moc.

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●175 how they came to be the greatest example of Aztec civilization. Yet the events set forth show quite clearly that they did not originate this civilization or, beyond the sacrifice cult, contribute much to it. During their migration period, from 1168 to 1248, they were simple primitive folk. In their sedentary period, from the settlement at Chapultepec in 1248 to the election of Acamapichtli in 1376, they were busily absorbing the culture of their neighbors and overlords, especially that of the Culhuas. The tributary period, from 1376 to 1428, saw the Tenochcas under the control of the Tepanec, cautiously trying out the formal Aztec city-state organization. Not until Itzcoatl assumed the chieftaincy in 1429 did Tenochtitlan really advance, at which time the city took part in the general great rise of Aztec civilization.

On the other hand, Culhuacan was associated with the earliest phase of Aztec culture in the Valley and was contemporaneous with such distinctive styles as Coyotlatelco and Mazapan. The evolving Aztec culture in its ceramic aspect superseded and obliterated these earlier folk arts and was well established throughout the Valley at a date when the Tenochcas were nonentities. The historical position of Culhuacan closely paralleled the archaeological record, yet this early Culhuacan phase did not seem to be a spontaneous development so much as a derivative from Puebla and the Mixteca.

The availability of annals and the existence of competent excavations in sites like Tenochtitlan, Texcoco and Culhuacan have caused us to weight heavily the testimony of the people on the northern half of the lakes. Chalco and Xochimilco, to the south, whose annals have disappeared and whose sites are largely unexcavated, may have had a far more

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important part in the history of the Valley than appears here. Poeblan influence is far stronger in these southern city-states.

Aztec civilization, therefore, was a dynamic composite of many elements, some developed as an answer to tribal needs, others incorporated by contact with foreign peoples. Constant change took place, as in all other human societies, resulting from the continual adjustments man must make to fresh situations. Since individual men and women make up a community, let us in the following chapters begin with a single person and work our way through his social obligations and economics to his tribal organization and religion, finally reaching the Conquest and its aftermath.

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FIG. 2. AZTEC NUMBERS AND METHODS OF ENUMERATION

a. one, a dot or finger b. twenty, a flag c. four hundred, a sign denoting hairs d. eight thousand, a bag e. ten masks of precious stone f. twenty bags of cochineal dye g. one hundred bags of cacao h. four hundred bales of cotton i. four hundred jars of honey of tuna j. eight thousand leaf-bundles of copal gum k. twenty baskets each containing one thousand six hundred ground cacao nibs l. four hundred and two cotton blankets of this type

A post-Conquest manuscript shows devices that may not have been of native origin but European adaptations of the Aztec system. For example, fractions are shown by blacking in segments of a quarter, a half or three quarters of a disk. Similarly fives and multiples of five are indicated by coloring the requisite spaces in the flag of the sign for twenty, and hundreds by showing the proportionate lines in the four-hundred symbol.[20]

175 Aztec histories consisted of annals of ancient times, contemporary events, year counts, accounts compiled yearly, specific records for each year, books of each day and day-by-day counts or diaries.[21] Some of the ancient and contemporary histories have been published, but none of

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PLATE 62

AZTEC RECORDS

TOP: *Left:* Conquests of Montezuma II; see Plate 63 for method of reading (Telleriano-Remensis). MIDDLE: *Left:* The migration of the Aztec tribes. They leave an island by boat and reach a hill with a cave, where Huitzilopochtli lives. They divide into several migrant groups. The list here includes, from top to bottom, Matlatzincas, Tepanecas, Chichimecas, Malinalcas, Cuitlahuacas, Xochimilcas, Chalcas and Huexotzincas (Codex Boturini). *Right:* Meeting of Montezuma, Cortes, and Marina (Lienzo de Tlaxcala). BOTTOM: *Left:* Monthly Ceremony (Codex Borbonicus). *Right:* Tribute Roll (Codex Mendoza).

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PLATE 63

AZTEC WRITING

A page from the Codex Telleriano-Remensis describes the period from 1424-39. The cartouches give the year names, indicating the succession of the four days with the thirteen numbers. The sequence may be readily followed: Ten Knife, Eleven House, Twelve Rabbit, Thirteen Reed, One Knife, Two House, etc. The death of Chimalpopoca (Smoking Shield) is recorded for the year Twelve Rabbit (1426), as is the accession of Itzcoatl (Snake of Knives). Each ruler is designated by his hieroglyph. The defeat of Maxtla (Brooch Clout) is depicted as well as an eclipse of the sun shown by the disk obscured by a mouth. The figures and descriptions were inserted after the Conquest by two priests (to judge from the handwriting), who made use of native informants. (Compare Plate 62, *top left*.)

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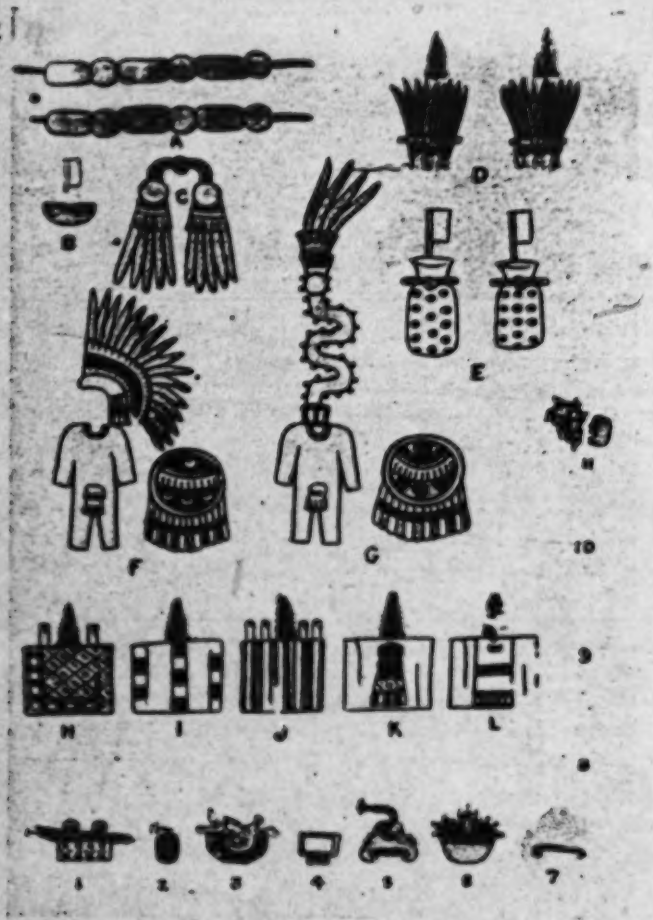

PLATE 64

AZTEC WRITING

A page from the Tribute Roll of Montezuma (after Spinden, 1928). The tributary towns are in the columns at bottom and right, designated by numbers. The goods comprised: (a) two strings of jade beads; (b) 20 gourd dishes of gold dust; (c) a royal headdress; (d) 800 bunches of feathers; (e) 40 bags of cochineal dye; (f–g) 2 warriors' costumes; (h) 400 cotton blankets of this pattern; (i) 400 blankets; (j) 404 blankets; (k) 400 blankets; (l) 400 blankets. Note the use of fingers for units, flags for twenties and trestlike signs for four hundreds. The sign for eight thousand may be found on Plate 62 (*bottom right*) in the top left-hand corner, designating the number of containers of honey.

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175 the shorter records have reached print, even if they survive in some library. These histories followed two main styles. One, exemplified in the Mapa Tlotzin and Codex Xolotl, sets forth events, the people or tribes involved and the places, each designated by its hieroglyph. Year names were appended to give the dates. These Texcocan records are highly complicated to follow, but fortunately some have glossaries appended after the Conquest.[22] (See Plates 25, top row; 63, middle right.)

The other style recorded the succession of the years, one after the other, for the whole time covered by the history. Events, like conquests or the death of chiefs, were appropriately drawn near the proper year sign and sometimes were connected by a line. This type of history seemed largely confined to Tenochtitlan. Since Tenochcan history is much more accurate after 1400 A.D. than before, one wonders whether the destruction of the books, ordered by Itzcoatl, did not really pave the way for a new style of writing.[23] (See Plates 62, top; 63.)

In addition to the histories and the sacred almanacs tribal records were kept. These are most useful to the modern student, for the names of the towns are inscribed in one column, while the rest of the page records the amount of gold, ornaments or cloth that was paid in as tribute. Since the geographical location of most of these towns is known, the chief products of each area can be determined. Other records showed lines of descent, lands occupied and other data essential to family economics.[24] (See Plates 62, bottom right; 64.)

212 177 Fortunately, after the Conquest the Spaniards utilized the native methods of writing as well as their own in civil records,

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787 destroyed, one by a sudden fire, the other by lightning unaccompanied by thunder. A comet was seen by day, and sudden waves came up on the Lake of Texcoco. A sixth sign was a woman's voice crying, "My children, we are lost." Monsters appeared and were brought before the chief, only to disappear as soon as he had seen them. Most sinister of all

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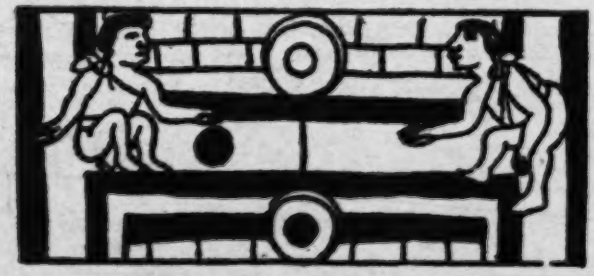

FIG. 3. The years before the Spanish Conquest had been full of evil omens for the Aztecs. To determine whether the dire predictions of Nezahualpilli, chief of Texcoco, were correct, Montezuma played and lost a ritualistic game of "basketball" with him as depicted above. *Codex Florentino*

was a bird brought in by some hunters. This bird had a mirror in its head, revealing the heavens, and when Montezuma peered at it a second time a host of armed men was disclosed. When the chief brought his soothsayers to witness this augury and to explain its significance, the bird flew away. Distorted as these occurrences seem to us, they must have had a most upsetting effect on the population of the Valley of Mexico.[2] (See Figs. 4, 28A–B.)

● 175 Consequently the emotional condition of the people was peculiarly receptive to the rumors, drifting in from the southeast, which told of four-legged monsters with human bodies issuing from their backs. As these strange beings moved up the coast Montezuma's spies and ambassadors began to bring

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back more precise reports as to their nature, and even presents and messages for their chief. (See Fig. 5.)

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Fig. 4. Montezuma views the magical bird in the head of which was a mirror, showing first the heavens, then hosts of armed men, foretelling, according to tradition, the Spanish Conquest. *Codex Florentino*

The strangers were human, for they were vulnerable, receiving wounds and dying from assaults upon them. They had new and strange weapons, noisy and lethal, for cannon, muskets, crossbows and steel swords were unknown to the Aztecs. Also novel and dreadful adjuncts of war were the horses and the savage mastiffs of the Spaniards. In battle the strangers were invincible, operating in a manner completely

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Fig. 5. The Spaniards land in 1519 at the site of Vera Cruz. Their ship and equipment are carefully drawn. At the right, Marina, Cortes' interpreter, is exercising her diplomacy on a native. *Codex Florentino*

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FIG. 6. Aztec sorcerers, sent from the highland, offer bewitched food to Cortes and his staff, who disdain the viands. *Codex Florentino*

foreign to Indian principles of war. The simple Indian methods of mass attack were of little avail against the maneuvering of a well-drilled force, for the native tactics could only bring the merest fraction of their fighting force in direct contact with the enemy.

The Spaniards also resisted witchcraft on the occasion when Montezuma seriously applied it. However, sorcery, according to native standards, was at best a two-edged weapon, so that it is doubtful if this failure had any other than a confirmatory bearing on the Indian attitude of mind toward the supernatural quality of the Spaniards. The problem that beset Montezuma was not that the invaders were themselves gods, but that they were the symbols, the vicars on earth, as it were, of vast unearthly forces bent on establishing a new social order. As such the Spaniards required the most gingerly handling.[8] (See Fig. 6.)

When the Spaniards were approaching the capital a political problem entered to complicate the spiritual one. The

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city-states, or pueblos, between the Valley of Mexico and the coast were independent communities and, even if tributary to the Valley powers, were often reluctantly so. Therefore, many of these tribes, like the Totonacs, welcomed the invaders as the spearhead for an open revolt. Others, like the completely independent and warlike Tlaxcalans, put the power of Cortes to a practical test in open battle and, when the Spaniards won, became the most loyal of Cortes' supporters. Cholula, a large town loosely allied to the Aztecs, met the Spaniards as friends, plotting to overcome them by treachery, a good Indian political maneuver instigated, perhaps, by Montezuma. The Spaniards, suspecting such a move, counteracted its efficacy by a judiciously executed massacre, thus, if not gaining a friendly community, at least creating a noncombatant one. (See Figs. 7–9.)

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Montezuma and his more cautious counselors watched this

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Fig. 7. Cortes and his army, on passing the great volcanoes southeast of Mexico City, ask the way. Note the smoke issuing from the crater of Popocatepetl. *Codex Florentino*

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FIG. 8. Montezuma, upset by the magical premonitions of disaster and by the failure of his sorcerers, does not know whether to flee or hide in a cave. *Codex Florentino*

slow ascent from the coast with apprehensive interest. He has been condemned by many commentators as an appeaser and has been made the scapegoat of this great debacle of Indian civilization. Yet consider his position. While the leading man in his community, he was not an authoritarian monarch. For mass action he had to rely on the group decision of the clans comprising his tribe, as well as on the very doubtful allegiances of the vassal states, whose immediate needs transcended any sacrifice of a far-reaching political nature. Thus not only the demands of the harvest season but also the fear of damage to the communal property made communities loath for war. Montezuma had no method of enforcing a long-range diplomatic policy, such as is so characteristic of European and oriental political history. Nor must the extraordinary gifts of Cortes and his Indian mistress Marina be underrated. The pair played on Indian psychology as master pianists would execute a duet on the piano.

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His hands tied by both practical and psychological considerations, Montezuma received Cortes and the Spaniards without having struck a positive blow. Then ensued a new chapter in the story. Cortes promptly seized Montezuma as a hostage, and the latter's power to influence his tribesmen disintegrated. A mass revulsion against the invaders slowly began to crystallize, but it was confined to the city itself, without extending to the neighboring towns. People kept themselves within their houses; the market closed, yet no overt act was made. Cortes was allowed to leave for the coast to subjugate his new commander Narvaez, without open hostilities on the part of the Aztecs. (See Figs. 10–13.)

The storm broke during Cortes' absence. Some inhabitants

FIG. 9. Cortes meets high dignitaries from Tlaxcala, the pueblo most loyal to the conquerors. Marina interprets while supplies of corn, tortillas, turkeys, etc., are accumulated. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

[Text continues on p. 249.---Ansyst]

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Fig. 10. The Spanish forces reach Tenochtitlan, the modern Mexico City, and Montezuma and his nobles come to greet Cortes. *Codex Florentino*

Fig. 11. Marina's value to Cortes cannot be underestimated. Here she is ordering an Aztec to perform some duty. To judge from the speech scrolls he complies with ill grace. *Codex Florentino*

Fig. 12. A great aid to the Spanish military success was the use of cavalry. Here we see unusual combatants, whose weapons were no less deadly than the firearms of the day. *Codex Florentino*

Fig. 13. Cortes takes Montezuma as a hostage. The Aztec chief tries to calm his rebellious subjects who greet him with the contempt due a traitor. *Codex Florentino*

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175 of Tenochtitlan had assembled to celebrate the feast of the god Huitzilopochtli. Alvarado, a tough soldier, lacking all Cortes' gifts of intrigue, scented trouble in this gathering, the actual innocence of which he had no way of knowing. Following the Spanish technique at Cholula, he fell upon the celebrants and killed them all. The city rose like one man and drove the garrison to cover. Actuated by the single motive of revenge against the invaders, the Aztecs were ready to destroy the Spanish garrison. However, the structural weakness of the Indian government became bitterly evident when the chiefs permitted Cortes and his reinforce-

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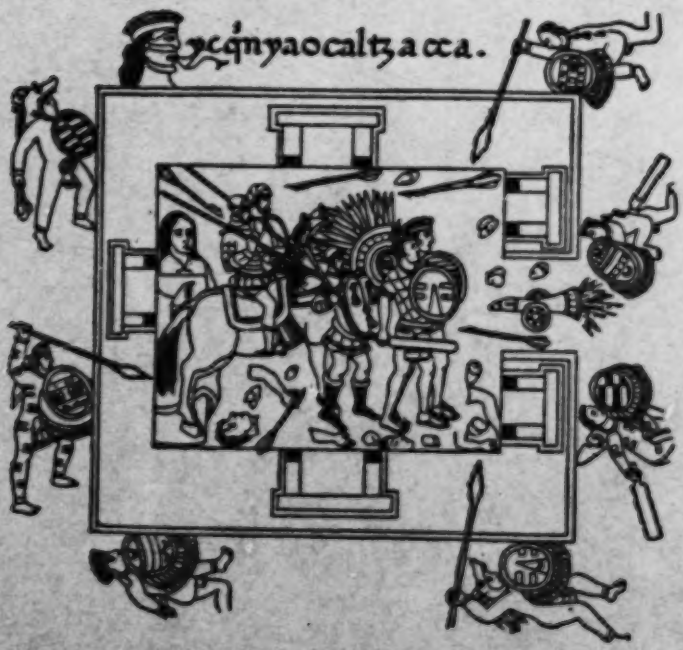

FIG. 14. Following a series of outrages committed by the invaders, the citizens rise in arms against the Spanish. The Spaniards and their Tlaxcalan allies are besieged in the palace of Axayacatl. In this scene a field piece is shown in action, while the horsemen are held in reserve for a sortie. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

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ments from the army of Narvaez to join the beleaguered [726] troops of Alvarado. The ceremonial aspect of war in Indian Mexico did not envisage the splitting of an adversary's army and the separate destruction of its weakened parts, a rudimentary law of European military tactics.

Yet once the Spaniards were united in the city they ceased to be a military problem and became the emotional focus of the Indians' wrath and fear. They had to shut themselves up in the palace of Axayacatl to resist the force of this uprising in which the whole tribe participated. The Aztecs, having immobilized their enemies, visited their hate and rage in a manner unparalleled in the annals of Indian campaigns. Every citizen joined in hurling missiles at the besieged in-

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FIG. 15. Here the Spanish are dislodging the Aztecs from a temple, where the Indians had gathered to ambush them. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

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FIG. 16. Wooden tanks were built by Cortes to protect his men when Aztecs took up positions on the housetops out of reach of the sallies of Spanish cavalry. This spirited picture reveals the tanks separated by a canal into which a horse had fallen. The Aztecs on the roofs impede its rescue. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

vaders, and masses of warriors blocked every sally the Spaniards made from their refuge. (See Figs. 14–15.)

The Spaniards could not maneuver in the narrow footpaths along the canals, and the portable fortresses they constructed of wood, the first tanks used in the New World, were useless against enemies on housetops and in canoes.[4] (See Fig. 16.) The Spaniards lost heavily, and the unfortunate Montezuma met his death either at the hands of his own people, whom he was trying to calm, or, as two excellent authorities have it, at those of the Spaniards.[5] After having passed a week shut up in the palace Cortes decided to withdraw from Tenochtitlan. Just before dawn his forces made

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175 their way through the hushed streets out along the causeway to Tacuba.

A woman getting water from a canal, saw them and raised the alarm. The whole male population surged forth along the roofs and through the streets. Some seized canoes and attacked the flanks of the marching column. The Aztecs tore up the bridges, and many Spaniards, laden down with gold, sank ignominiously beneath the waters or, while trying to keep afloat, were clubbed to death by warriors in boats. Alvarado, ever the precipitous man of action, confronted a wide gap in the causeway, plunged his lance into the lake bottom and in full armor vaulted over to the other side.* The panic increased, and order was not restored until the Spaniards reached Tacuba. Cortes sat under a giant cypress and wept as he took toll of his losses. Three quarters of the Spanish army had been lost in this rout and in the preceding siege. (See Fig. 18.)

The Spaniards found a temporary sanctuary on the hill of Los Remedios. Their adversaries, instead of following up

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Fig. 17. A handful of the Spaniards reach the mainland. The Aztecs, instead of following up their advantages, plunder the bodies of the killed and drowned. Be it remembered, however, the Spanish carried off the entire Aztec treasure. *Codex Florentino*

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FIG. 18. Supplies run low and Cortes secretly tries to reach the mainland along a causeway. His retreat is discovered and the Aztecs, massing their forces in canoes, wreak havoc on the Spanish forces. Tearing up the bridges, the Aztecs further hindered the retreat and all but destroyed the invading army. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

their advantage, plundered the dead and tried to recover the booty stolen by the Spaniards from the Aztec treasury. They lost a precious opportunity to destroy the remnants of the Spanish army by not carrying their attack to its logical conclusion. (See Fig. 17.)

However, the Indians did make some effort toward concerted action later. The Texcocans, formerly the principal allies of the Aztecs, gathered their forces together and tried to intercept the Spaniards as they made their way cross country to the homeland of their allies, the Tlaxcalans. At Otumba battle was joined. The Indians in their battle formation could not overcome the mobility and tactical sense of the Spaniards. Wounded as every man was, and exhausted from lack of food and sleep, they kept their discipline; and a desperate charge by the cavalry reached the chiefs, who fell before the Spanish swords. Once their leaders were slain, the

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scant Indian discipline dissolved, and the tribesmen took flight. The Spaniards made their way to Tlaxcala to recuperate and to await reinforcements.

Montezuma was succeeded by his brother Cuitlahuac, and he, dying of the fever after four months, was replaced as war chief by their nephew, the heroic Cuauhtemoc. This strong and courageous leader was unable to overcome the mutual distrust of the Indian communities for each other. When the Aztecs might have joined together with other tribes to overwhelm the Spaniards by sheer weight of numbers, they did nothing.

In the meantime Cortes, having rested his army, began to consolidate his position. He made two series of campaigns, one eastward to the sea and the other in a south and westerly direction in the present state of Morelos. Utilizing Indian allies both as carriers and as a screen to conceal his more serious tactical movements, he subjugated town after town.

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Fig. 19. Due to the hostility of the Aztecs, Cortes was able to reach Tlaxcala and rally his army. Here we see military supplies being brought from the coast. In the left corner a minor disaster, involving the drowning of several Indian allies, is depicted. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

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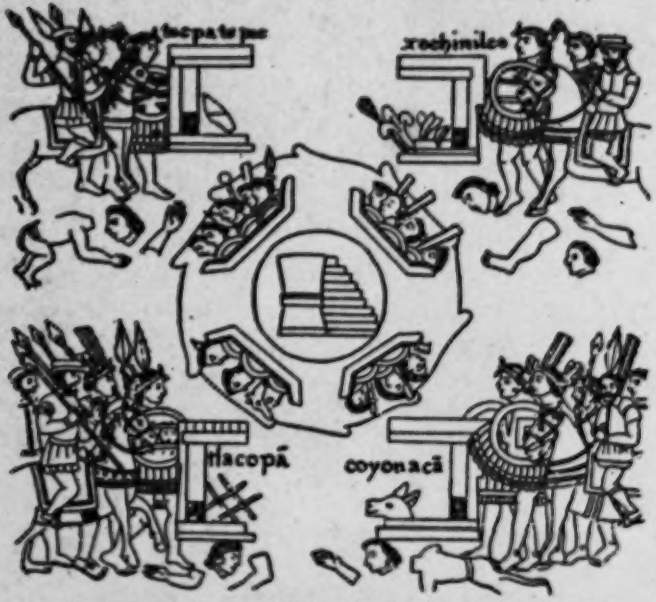

FIG. 20. Cortes' plan to retake Tenochtitlan involved isolating the island city from the mainland. Tenochtitlan is shown in the center of the picture, surrounded by the lake on which float the war canoes of its defenders. The Spanish forces devote themselves to reducing the mainland towns. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

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In each case the Indian war convention of a single decisive mêlée proved worthless against the versatility of the Spanish attack. Cortes soon pacified the eastern country sufficiently to try to regain Tenochtitlan. (See Fig. 19.)

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Typical Indian perfidy, from our point of view today, but common sense to the people of that era, virtually accomplished the downfall of Mexico. The Texcocans, closest allies of the Aztecs, and for that reason perhaps the most jealous

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FIG. 21. Cortes built brigantines to defend his flanks while moving along the causeways into Tenochtitlan. In this picture a brigantine comes to the aid of Cortes and his allies, who are beset by Aztecs afoot and in canoes. *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

of their success, resented the part Montezuma had taken in forcing the election of a war chief. When the Aztecs had had a strong chance of maintaining their supremacy after Cortes' retreat from Mexico the Texcocans valiantly took the field at Otumba. Now they switched to the Spanish side, seeing a chance of assuming a dominant position in Valley of Mexico affairs. Their defection gave the Spaniards a base on the Lake of Mexico and a means of mopping up whatever tribes remained unsubjugated in the previous campaign.

175 Having quieted the countryside, Cortes put into effect his plan of siege. He launched a fleet of small galleys armed with cannon, which had been constructed in Tlaxcala and

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brought piecemeal across the mountains, to be assembled on the lake. These ships were to sweep the lake clear of canoes and protect the Spanish flanks as they moved in across the three causeways to the island city, Tenochtitlan. Cortes divided his forces in three parts to move along these approaches and close in on the capital. (See Figs. 20, 22.)

The galleys soon cleared the lake of any hostile fleets of canoes, and the Spaniards began to invest the city. The Aztecs, fighting for their lives, stubbornly defended their position. Every night they sallied forth to destroy the bridges the Spaniards had made across the canals during the day. In fighting of this kind the Spaniards could not manipulate

FIG. 22. The Spanish flotilla puts to sea. These galleys, equipped with oars and a sail and armed with a cannon in the bow, could play havoc with the Aztec war canoes. *Codex Florentino*

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175 their troops, and neither side had any great advantage. The Aztecs, however, still persisted in trying to take prisoners to sacrifice to their War God instead of exterminating their enemies whenever the occasion offered. To offset this gain the thousands of Indian allies, who flocked to the Spanish side to participate in the expected victory, jammed the causeways and hampered rather than helped the besiegers. (See Fig. 21.)

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FIG. 23. Time and again the beleaguered relieved situations like this where armed tribesmen in canoes sailed up to attack the Spanish rear. *Codex Florentino*

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FIG. 24. The Spanish military problem was to raze enough of the city to permit the use of cavalry. The drawing at the right shows the gunboats taking part in an offensive with this end in view. *Codex Florentino*

Cortes decided to change his manner of campaign, and his solution, while reasonable to us, must have been little short of miraculous to the tribesmen. He sent the Indian allies forward to tear down all the houses they could find and fill the canals with the debris. When counterattacked, the allies retired, leaving room for the Spaniards on horse and foot to deal with the Aztecs. Each day the Spanish forces gained more room to maneuver and thus could count on recovering more ground on the morrow. The Aztecs, animated by a rare unity, fought desperately but without avail. (See Figs. 23–24.)

Toward the end of the siege an event occurred which 175
indicated to the now-desperate Aztecs hope of eventual re- 648
lease in a common rising against the invaders. The people from the islands at the south of the lake, the Xochimilcas and

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175 their neighbor tribesmen, filtered through the Spanish galleys by night and told the Aztecs that, as neighbors, they would make common cause against the whites. Overjoyed, Cuauhtemoc and his chiefs loaded them with ornaments, fine mantles and cacao beans, precious for the favorite drink of the Aztecs, chocolate. When night closed in again on the beleaguered city the Aztecs were startled by a great commotion. The new allies were trying to drag off the Aztec women and children as slaves. It is pleasant to record that this knavery received its just reward, and the Xochimilcas were all either slaughtered or disposed of in sacrifice.[7]

175 Only when its members were too weak to resist and could

[532]

FIG. 25. Pestilence was a formidable ally on the Spanish side. Colds, smallpox, measles, and the like, were unknown to the Indians who, lacking any sort of immunity, died by the thousands. *Codex Florentino*

[532a]

FIG. 26. A factor in the downfall of the Aztecs was their custom of taking captives for sacrifice rather than to kill in direct battle. The heads of the sacrificed victims, both men and horses, were displayed in front of the temples. *Codex Florentino*

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FIG. 27. Cuauhtemoc, who conducted the defense of Tenochtitlan, is received with all the honors of war by Cortes and his consort, Marina. In the upper right Cortes may be seen greeting Cuauhtemoc's wife and family. The legend translated reads: "With this event, the Mexicans were finished." *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

no longer deal wounding blows did the garrison yield. Cuauhtemoc and his family took to the lake in a canoe, as did many others. He was picked up by one of the Spanish galleys and brought before Cortes, where his dignity and chiefly demeanor received the respectful attention of the Spanish general staff. The request for treasure brought the answer that there was none: it lay under the lake with the Spaniards who were slain the preceding winter in their disastrous flight from the city. Cuauhtemoc then underwent

[Text continues on p. 264.--- Analyst]

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FIGS. 28A–28B. The story of the Conquest of Mexico in native characters. In the cartouches are to be seen the symbols One Reed and Two Knife, the Aztec names for the years 1519 and 1520. Under One Reed is a Spaniard from whose horse's foot depends the shield, club and arrows symbolic of war. At the right the bearded Cortes

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sies in the temple of Tenochtitlan, represented by the cactus. An Indian with the glyph of Montezuma offers a tribute of gold beads. Under Two Knife we find Alvarado massacring the Indians at the great temple and at upper right a comet in the sky. *Codex Vaticanus A*

[Fig. 28 B]

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175 prison and torture, to be murdered years later on Cortes' march to Honduras. He is now revered in Mexico as a national hero. (See Figs. 25–27.)

The downfall of the Aztecs cannot be explained in terms of European history, and the standard reasons give a false picture. Montezuma, singled out by European authors as a weak and vacillating monarch, was a tribal leader devoid of the constitutional rights of a European sovereign. His empire is also a European creation, since it consisted, in reality, of communities sufficiently intimidated to pay tribute but in no wise bound to Aztec governmental conventions. Warriors the Aztecs were, but not soldiers in the European sense. Given, as we have said, the requisite leadership and organization, any European expeditionary force could have taken Mexico. The tragically courageous resistance at Tenochtitlan was not a military defense so much as a heroic group action by individuals fighting for their lives.

Hunger and thirst, plagues and wounds, had literally so weakened the Aztecs that they could not resist. The horrors of the last stand made by these desperate people is too awful to describe. For long after, the memory of the tragedy lingered about the place, a sort of exhalation of spiritual uncleanliness like that of a haunted house or the scene of a crime. All through the Colonial era, and even up to now, the northern district of Mexico has found favor neither as a residential quarter nor as a business center. Today there are railroad yards and slums where the Aztec civilization bled to death. The ghosts of its heroic defenders still haunt the place.

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797 opened on a large court to accommodate converts who gath-
346 ered literally in the tens of thousands. Indian craftsmen
177 found steel tools a superb improvement on their stone hammers and chisels. After the original plateresque architecture shifted into baroque, they reveled in shaping the blocks into ornate shapes, for it was as easy as cutting cheese in comparison to the labor of their aboriginal days.[8]

636 This period of fusion lasted for almost a century. In the
175 meantime the original Conquistadors and their descendants, together with later immigrants to the new colony, had encroached more and more on the natives. The development of the mining industries absorbed thousands of Indians, lured to work for a pittance under noisome conditions which brought sickness and even death. The exercise of the *encomienda*, an arrangement whereby a man had the right to a native's labor in return for his care and the assurance of his religious instruction, led to abuse of the privilege, and the luckless Indians were reduced to serfdom. European diseases, like smallpox, measles and tuberculosis, wiped out great sections of the population, which had no hereditary resistance to such maladies. The Crown and the Church, through its Council of the Indies, sent questionnaires and enacted ameliorative legislation on the basis of the information received, but such laws were more honored in the breach than in the observance. Many of the whites who went to New Spain wanted to get rich and enjoy an easy old age in the homeland. Others who had settled in the country enjoyed an almost feudal existence, no part of the profits and comforts of which they wished to yield, either for the betterment of the Indians or for the enrichment of the Crown. When the British destroyed the Armada in 1588 and weakened Spanish sea power, the com-

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munication between the mother country and the colonies became increasingly difficult. Control was loosened, and laws for the benefit of the Indians were ignored. They became, indeed, an inferior majority, laboring as peons without hope of legal or social justice.[8]

Most of the Indians lost their land and labored on haciendas or in the mines. Some communities like Tlaxcala, having performed notable service to the Crown during the Conquest, kept their land although they had lost social status. Other groups, like the lake peoples of Xochimilco and Chalco, occupied territory which the Spaniards considered unsuitable for their own purposes. A fourth group lived relatively unmolested in primitive little villages tucked away in the mountains. These refugees had taken to the hills not only because of the white conquerors but also to avoid the rising Indian powers in the centuries before the Conquest. The several-score languages and dialects spoken in Mexico are preserved in these tiny villages where inhabitants are only lightly veneered with Christianity.

What remains of Indian culture today is largely the blend of early indigenous practices with the teachings of the friars in the sixteenth century. Yet the physical type and the languages have resisted absorption for four centuries. In Mexico there is hardly a group which remains as completely Indian as some of the North American tribes, but they, after all, have for the most part been conquered and put on reservations only in the last three generations. The groups who had earlier contact with the whites were exterminated many years ago.[9]

The Mexican Indians have endured and have done the work of Mexico for four centuries. They have seen the whites

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And in his reign there came a great
178 famine, which spread over the land for four years.
648 Hence was it said that the year One Rabbit had come.
[731] All the people of Mexico, and the Tepaneca and those of Acolhuacan dispersed among other [people].

mancā injc mjtoa Necetochuiloc tepan moiooc in jaquich mexicatl ioan tepanecatl, ioan acolhoacatl.

The sixth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Axayacatl was the sixth, and ruled Tenochtitlan fourteen years. It came to pass in his reign that there was war between the people of Tlatilulco and those of Tenochtitlan. As a result of the struggle, the reign of Tlatilulco then came to an end. For forty-six years no one else reigned in Tlatilulco. And when the war was waged, he who was ruling Tlatilulco was named Moquiuixtli.

And this Axayacatl conquered Tlacotepec, and Callimaya, and Metepec, Callixtlauacan, Ecatepec, Cuecaquauhtenanco, Teotenanco, Malinaltenanco, Tzinacantepec, Coatepec, Cuitlapilco, Teoxualco, Tequaleian, and Ocuillan.

Injc chicoacen, tenochtitlan tlatoani.

Axaiaca ic chicoacen tlatocat in tenochtitlan: matlacxiuitl ipā nauhxiuitl. Ipan mochiuh inic moiaochiuhque tlatilulca, ioan tenochca: inic mjxnamjque, vncan poliuh in tlatocaiotl tlatilulco: vmpoalxiujtl ipan chiquacenxiujtl in aocac tlatocat tlatilulco. Auh in jcoac mochiuh iauiotl: tlatocatia in tlatilulco, itoca moquiuixtli.

Auh in ichoatl axaiaca, qujpeuh in tlacotepec, ioan callimaia, ioan metepec, callixtlaoaca, hecatepec, cuecaquauhtenanco, teutenanco, malinaltenāco, tzinacantepec, coatepec, cujtlapilco, teoxaoalco, tequaloia, ocujllan.

The seventh ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Tiçocicatzin was the seventh, and ruled Tenochtitlan four years. No wars were made in his reign.

Injc chicome, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Tiçoçicatzin, ic chicome tlatocat in tenochtitlan nauhxiujtl. Atle ipan mochiuh in iaviotl.

The eighth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

[312] Auitzotl was the eighth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan for eighteen years. When he was ruler, Mexico was flooded. By his command it was done; five springs were opened, known as Acuecuexatl, Tlilatl, Uitzilatl, Xochcatl, and Coatl, which were in the territory of Coyoacan and Uitzilopochco.[1] When Mexico was flooded, four years were still to pass before Auitzotl died. And when the Spaniards came here, it was already twenty-two years before that Mexico had been flooded.

And it came to pass in his time that the sun was eclipsed, at midday. For about five hours the darkness was overspread; the stars appeared. All were much terrified. It was said: "The demons of darkness will descend; they will eat people."

And he conquered those of Tzinhcoac, and Mollanco, Tlapan, Chiapan, Xaltepec, Izoatlan, Xochtlan, Amaxtlan, Mapachtepec, Xoconochco, Ayutlan, Maçatlan, and Coyoacan.

Injc chicuej, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Auitzotl, ic chicuej tlatocat in tenochtitlan: caxtolxiujtl ipan exiuitl. Icoac tlatocati in apachiuh Mexico: itencopa mochiuh, inic motlapo macujltetl oztotl in jntoca Acuecuexatl, tlilatl, Vitzillatl xochcaatl, coahatl, inma in coioacā ioan ujtzilupuchco: oc nauhxiujtl qujztia, injc apachiuh mexico, in aiamo mjqui aujztuul. Auh in jcoac oallaque Españoles, ic ixh cempoalxiujtl omome, oapachiuh in mexico:

ioan ipan mochiuh in tonatiuh qualoc, nepantla tonatiuh: aço macujlli horas in tlaiootimanca, nezque in cicitlalti, cenca nemauhtiloc, mjtoaia: ca oaltemonque in tritzimime, tequaxque:

. ioan quinpeuh in tziuhcoaca, ioan mollanco, tlapan, chiapan, xaltepec, izoatlan, xochtlan, amaxtlan, mapachtepec, xoconochco, aiutlan, maçatlan, coioacan.

● 175 The ninth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Moctezuma was the ninth, and he ruled Tenoch-

Injc chicunauj, tlatoanj tenochtitlan.

Motecnçuma ic chicunaui tlatocat in tenochtitlan

1. Items in reinark. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has 3 round her names.

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titlan for nineteen years. In his reign there came a famine; for two years[2] it spread over the land, during which it rained no more. Because of it the people of Mexico dispersed everywhere, and there was great suffering from hunger.

In the reign of this same [ruler] it happened that there in the song house which was in Tenochtitlan, a beam, which pierced the walls which held it, sang.[3] It intoned, "Woe, my evil rump! Dance well, for thou shalt be cast into the water!" This came to pass when [the fame of] the Spaniards came to be known.

In the days of this same [ruler] it happened that [the demon] Cihuacoatl went about weeping, at night. Everyone heard it wailing and saying: "My beloved sons, now I am about to leave you."

In the reign of the same [ruler] this came to pass. A woman of quality, whose home was in Tenochtitlan, died of a sickness. She was buried then in her courtyard, and they laid stones over [her grave]. Four days after the dead woman had been buried, she came to life at night. Greatly were all frightened. There, where she had been buried in her grave, it was burst open, and the stones which had been laid over it went to scatter at a distance. And this woman, after she had returned to life, then went to converse and speak with Moctezuma about what she had seen. She informed and said to him: "For this reason have I returned to life: I have come to tell thee that thou art come to the end. With thee the reign of Mexico ceaseth; for in thy time the city of Mexico will end. They who come, lo, these have come to subjugate the land; these will occupy Mexico." And this woman who had died lived another twenty-one years, and once more bore a son.

And many [were] the cities which Moctezuma conquered. Their names [were] Icpatepec, Cuezcomaixtlauacan, Çocollan, Tecomaixtlauacan, Çacatepec, Tlachquiauhco, Iolloxonecuillan, Atepec, Mictlan, Tlaxapan,[4] Nopalan, Iztec tlalocan, Cuextlan, Quetzaltepec, and Chichiualtatacalan.

In the days of this same [ruler] it befell that, eight years before the Spaniards came to arrive, it was seen, and taken as an omen, that by night a very great brilliance arose, like a flame. All night it stood shining. It appeared at the place where the sun came caxtolxiuitl ipan nauhxiuitl, ipan muchiuh maia- 175
naliztli oxiuitl in manca in aocmo qujauja, ic noujian [731]
tepan cenman in mexicatl cenca netolinjloc in maianaliztica.

Çā no iehoatl ipan muchiuh, in oncan cujcacali catca in tenochtitlan, cuicac ce nepantla tecoc in tlael- [787]
mpaloa, queuh veiah noqueztepole uel xomjtotia, atlā tiuetztoçe. In muchiuh, y, ie iuh oalmachiztı in Españoles.

Çā no iehoatl ipan mochiuh cioacoatl chocatinenca ioaltica, mochi tlacatl qujcaquja in cho.ia qujtoaia. Nonopilhoantzitzi ic çan ie namechnocaujlia.

Çan no iehoatl ipan mochiuh. Çe tlacatl çihoatl 175
ichan tenochtitlan mjc ica cocoliztli, njman motocac 787
yitoalco ipan qujtemanque, ie iuh nauilhuitl motocac in cihoatl micquj mozcali ioaltica, cenca tlamauhti in vncan motocaca tlatlatacco motlapo, auh in tetl ic motemanca vēca veuetztito: auh in iehoatl cihoatl in oiuh mozcali, njman qujnonotzato, qujlhujto in motecuçuma in tlein qujttac qujpouili, qujlhuj. Ca inic onjnozcali njmjtzilhujco. Ca ie itqujch ca tehoatl moca tzonqujça in tlatocaiotl in mexico ca tehoatl mopan mantiaz in altepetl mexico. Aqujque in ie uitze ca iehoantin tlalmaceoaqujuj, iehoantin onoque in mexico: auh in iehoatl mjcca çihoatl ie no cempoalxiujtl oçe inen ioan oc ce qujchiuh icon- euh oquichtli:

Ioan miiec in altepetl qujpeuh motecuçuma in 175
jtoca, icpatepec, cuezcomaixtlaocan, çocollan, teco- 648
maixtlaoncā, çacatepec, tlachqujauhco, iolloxonecuil- [103]
lan, atepec, mjctlan, tloapan, nopalan iztec tlalocan, cuextlan, quetzaltepec, chichioaltatacalan.

Çan no iehoatl ipan muchiuh, oc iuh chicuexiujtl 175
aciqujui españoles mottaia netetzahujloa, in ioaltica 787
oalmoquetzaia cenca tonaoac in tlanextli iuhquin tlemjiaoatl ioxoal tlanextiticaca tonatiuh iquiçaiampa oalmoquetzaia vmpoliuja in ie oalquja tonatiuh,

2. The corresponding Spanish text mentions three years of famine.
3. Cuitar en nopantla tecoc. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has cui panali. Nopantla is clearly an error.
4. Tlaxapan. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

1757 forth, and vanished when the sun was about to rise. For four years this always was to be seen at night. And when it disappeared, it was still four years before the Spaniards came to arrive.

nauhxiujtl in mochipa mottaia iouhtica auh in jcoac polliuh oc iuh nauhxiujtl açiqujui in españoles

1756 And it came to pass that in his time the Spaniards came to arrive—they took and vanquished [the city of] Mexico here where the Spaniards now are, as well as all about here in New Spain. [This conquest was] in 1519.

. ioan ipan mochiuh injc ipan açico españoles injc caçique injc quipeuhque Mexico in vncan axcan onoque Españoles ioan in noujian in nican iancujc españa de mjll e qujnjenas y dezinueue.

1757 The tenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Cuitlauac was the tenth, and he ruled eighty days after the Spaniards reached Mexico. In the time of this one, it happened that a great plague came, and that many died of it everywhere in the cities. It was said that it was the smallpox, the great raising of blisters. Never once had this been seen; never had it been suffered in Mexico. Indeed, it smote the faces of everyone, so that pits and roughnesses were formed. No longer were the dead buried; they could only cast them all into the water[5]—for in those times there was much water everywhere in Mexico. And there was a great, foul odor; the smell issued forth from the dead.

Injc matlactli tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Cujtlaoa, ic matlactli, tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nappoalilhujtl ōiuh açico in Españoles mexico. Iehuatl ipan muchiuh in oalla vei cocoliztli, i cenca ic mjcoac in noujian altepetl ipan: mjto ca vej çaoatl, vej totomonaliztli: in aic ceppa omottac inin aic onecocoloc in mexico, vel mochi tlacatl, qujtlacalhui in jxaiac: injc qujquiztic, chachaquachtic muchiuh, aocmo motocaia in mjmjcoque, ςι muchi atlan qujmentlaçaia: ca in jcoac cenca no.jian atlan catca in mexico, ioā cenca tlaiaxtimomā, injc hijxcque mjmjcoque.

1758 The eleventh ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Quauhtemoc was the eleventh, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years. It came to pass in his reign that these Spaniards conquered and took the city of Mexico; and all the cities which lay surrounding. When he ruled, twelve priests, sons of Saint Francis, came and proceeded to reach [here]. They came to free men from idolatry and to teach the Faith.

Injc matlactli oce, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Quauhtemoc, ic matlactli oce tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl, ipan muchiuh: injc iehoantin españoles quipeuhque, caçique in altepetl in mexico, ioā in noujian ic qujiaoalotoc ixquich altepetl. Icoac tlātocati in oallaque, açico matlactin omomen tenpixque in ipilhoan Sanct frācisco, in qujtecaoaltico tlatecuoquilitztli: ioan qujtemachtique tlaneltoqujliztli.

1759 The twelfth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Andrés Motelchiuh was twelfth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years in the time of[5] the Spaniards, who went forth everywhere to conquests—to Cuextlan, to Honduras. And Nuño de Guzmán took him [in conquest] to Colhuacan, where he met his death.

Injc matlactlomome, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Don Andres, motelchiuh ic matlactli omome tlatocat in tenochtitlan exiujtl iepan españoles noujian ianqujçato in cuextlan, huduras, auh in iehoatl nonum de guzman, qujuicac in vej culhoacan vmpa mjquito.

The thirteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Don Pablo Xochiquen was thirteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan three years.

Injc matlactli omej, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Don pablo, xochiquen ic matlactli omej tlatocat in tenochtitlan: exiujtl.

5. Ça: *words added. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has en her ça.*
6. *Jepan: ye tiempos in ihtid.*

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The fourteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.
Don Diego Vanitl was fourteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years.

Injc matlactli onnauj tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175
Don Diego vanjtl, ic matlactli onnauj tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl.

The fifteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.
Don Diego Tenetzquiti was fifteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan for thirteen years. It came to pass in his time that a great sickness came to be prevalent, known as a plague. From people's noses, blood issued; there was much death everywhere because of it, and there was death from famine. Very many were buried every day, everywhere. And in his time it was that the Chichimeca—those of Xochipilla—and the people of Cibola were destroyed and conquered.

Injc castolli tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175
Don Diego tenetzquiti, ic castolli tlatocat in tenochtitlan: matlacxiujtl ipan exiujtl, ipan mochiuh inic momanaco vei cocoliztli mjtoa pestilencia teiacapa quiz eztli cenca ic mjcoac in noujian ioan apiazmjcoac cenca mjec in motocaia cemjlhujtl in noujiā. ioan ipan muchiuh injc poliuhque, pecaloque chichimeca, xochipilieca ioan Scipola tlaca. 731 [648]

The sixteenth ruler of Tenochtitlan.
Don Crisóbal Cecepatic was sixteenth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan four years.

Injc caxtolli oce, tenochtitlan tlatoanj. 175
Don xpoual cecepatic, ic caxtolli oce, tlatocat in tenochtitlan: nauhxiujtl.

[p. 6 is blank]

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648 **Second Chapter**, which telleth of the rulers who governed in Tlatilulco when the reign had not yet perished and when, later, once again the Spaniards gave back and restored [it] to them, until the year 1560.

Injc vme capítulo itechpa tlatoa in tlatoque in otlatocatque tlatilulco, in aiamo poliuj tlatocaiotl, ioan in çatepan oc ceppa oquiznmacaque oquincuepilique españoles in ixquichica ipan xiujtl de 1560.

The first ruler of Tlatilulco, Quaquapitzauac, who first began [the reign], governed Tlatilulco for sixty-two years. He conquered the people of Tenayuca, and Coacalco, and Xaltocan. When this one then ruled, two rulers of Tenochtitlan came together [one after the other], who were named Acamapichtli and Uitziliuitl.

Injc ce tlatilulco tlatoanj Quaquappitzaoac achto compeoalti tlatocat in tlatilulco iepoalxiujtl omome, quimpeuh in tenaiocan tlaca, ioan coacalco ioan xaltocan, in iehoatl, y, ic tlatocat quinnamjcticatca vmentin tlatoque in tenochtitlan in omoteneuhque Acamapichtli ioan vitziliujtl.

The second ruler of Tlatilulco.

Tlacateotl [was] the second, and ruled Tlatilulco for thirty-eight years. It came to pass in his time that all the people of Acolhuacan and those of Coyoacan were conquered.

Injc vme tlatilulco tlatoanj.

Tlacateutl ic vme, tlatocat in tlatilulco, cempoalxiujtl ipan caxtolxiujtl omej, ipan muchiuh injc peoaloc ixquich aculhoacatl ioan coioacatl.

The third ruler of Tlatilulco.

Quauhtlatoa [was] the third, and ruled Tlatilulco for thirty-eight years. Two rulers, also, came together [one after the other], in Tenochtitlan. These [were] Itzcoatl and Moctezuma the Elder. It came to pass in his reign that the people of Azcapotzalco, and Coaixtlauacan, and Cuetlaxtlan, and Quauhtlinchan, and Xochimilco and all the people of Quauhnauac were destroyed and conquered.

Injc ei tlatilulco tlatoanj.

Quauhtlatoa, ic ei tlatocat in tlatilulco cempoalxiujtl ipan caxtolli omej xiujtl, quinnamjcticatca no vmentin tlatoque catca in tenochtitlan, iehoatl itzcoatl, ioã veue motecuçuma. Ipan muchiuh injc poliuh injc peoaloc, azcaputzalcatl ioan coaixtlaoacã, ioã cuetlaxtlan, ioan quauhtlinchan, ioan xochimjlco ioan in ixquich quauhnaoacatl.

The Fourth ruler of Tlatilulco.

Moquiuixtli [was] the fourth, and ruled Tlatilulco nine years. In his time the reign of Tlatilulco came to an end; for he and his brother-in-law, Axayacatl, ruler of Tenochtitlan, quarreled. [The latter] then made war upon Moquiuixtli and the people of Tlatilulco. And this Moquiuixtli of his own will quickly ascended to the summit of a [pyramid] temple, that he might cast himself from there; wherefore he then died.

Injc nauj tlatilulco tlatoanj.

Moquiujxtli, ic nauj tlatocat in tlatilulco: chicunauhxiujtl, ipã impoliuh tlatocaiotl tlatilulco, inic çan mococolique in jtex axaiaca tlatoanj tenochtitlan, injc qujiauchiuh moquiujxtli ioan tlatilulca. Auh in iehoatl moquiujxtli çan jnoma in tlecotiuetz iicpac teucalli injc vmpa oalmomaiauh injc vncan mjc.

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Don Pedro Temilo: when he was made ruler of Tlatilulco, he was the one who again started the

Don pedro temjlo icoac omotlatocatlali in tlatilulco, iehoatl ie no compeoalti in tlatocaiotl, in oiuh

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148 reign, when the Spaniards took and conquered the City of Mexico. The Spaniards, who had come from afar, went taking him with them everywhere when they conquered Cuextlan, Honduras, and Guatemala.

conaçique conpeuhque Españoles in altepetl mexico, noujian qujuicatinen in vēca españoles injc tepeuhque in cuextlan, hunduras, quauhtemallan.

Don Martín Ecatl [was] the second who governed Tlatilulco. He ruled three years in the time of the Spaniards. In his time, it came to pass that [the demon] Cinacoatl ate a small boy [as] he lay in his cradle there in Aacapotzalco. And in his time it happened that two eagles were[1] in separate wooden cages there in Tlatilulco. When for eight years they had been in wooden cages, eggs were laid; each eagle laid two eagle eggs.

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Don Martin hēca ic vme tlatocat in tlatilulco: exiujtl ic inpan in españoles. Ipan muchiuh, i çioacoatl qujqua piltzintli coçolco onoca vmpa azcapotzalco: ioan ipan muchiuh, vnteme quaquauhti quauhcalco manca no manca in vncā tlatilulco ic iuh chicuexiuitl mani quauhcalco motetique tlatlazque, contetl in quauhtetl qujtlazque icecentetl quauhtli.

Don Juan Auelittoc [was] the third, and he ruled Tlatilulco four years.

Don Iuan avellittoc ic ei tlatocat, in tlatilulco nauhxiujtl.

Don Juan Quauic onoc [was] the fourth, and ruled Tlatilulco seven years. And at the same time Don Pablo Xochiquen ruled Tenochtitlan. There came to pass in Tlatilulco a great marvel, a great example, [showing] how the world was to come to an end.

Don Iuan quauic onoc, ic nauj tlatocat in tlatilulco chicuxiujtl ioan iconac tlatocati Don pablo xochiquen in tenochtitlā, in muchiuh tlatilulco vej tlamauiçolli vej neincujtilli injc tlamjz cemanaoac

Don Alonso Quauhnochtli [was] the fifth, and he ruled Tlatilulco two years.

Don Alonso quauhnochtlj, ic macujlli tlatocat in tlatilulco oxjujtl.

[731] Don Martín Tlacatecatl [was] sixth, and he ruled Tlatilulco for six years. In his time there came to pass the aforementioned great plague and a war in which were conquered the Chichimeca—people of Nochtlan,[2]—and Cibola, in the time of Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy here in New Spain.

Don Martin tlacateccatl, ic chiquacen tlatocat in tlatilulco chicoacexiujtl. Ipan muchiuh in omoteneuh vej cocoliztli ioan in ianiutl injc peoaloque chichimeca, nochtlan tlaca, Scibola, ipan Don Antonjo de mendoça visorrej in nican iancujc españa

[731] Don Diego Uitznauatlailotlac [was] the seventh to rule in Tlatilulco. In his time there was a great plague, known as the swellings of the neck, and many were the deaths from it. And this one ruled ten years.

Don diego vitznaoatlailotlac ic chicome tlatocat in tlatilulco. Ipan muchiuh vej cocoliztli, inoca quechpoçanaliztli cenca ic mjcoac, auh in iehoatl matlacxiujtl in tlatocat.

1. For manera no manca, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has manera no manera.
2. In ibid., nochtlan, para tambien tlaca, para hablara nochtlan tlaca.

173 fire. It glowed each night. And for four years this
787 came to pass. In the year count Seven Flint Knife it came to appear for the first time, and its disappearance [was] in the year count Eleven Flint Knife. And thus it persisted for four years. In many places mountains and crags broke up. And that which continued to appear, ended four years before the Spaniards came to arrive. And when Neçaualpilli died, [the Spaniards] were not yet present.

tlemjiacatl iceiual tlaxcxtitica, auh nauhxiujtl in jpan muchiuh ipan xiuhtonalli chicome tecpatl in iancujcan necico auh impoliuh ipan xiuhtonalli matlactloce tecpatl auh injc tlamanca nauhxiujtl mjieccan xiti tepetl in texcalli auh in jcoac poliuh in tlen oalmoquequetzaia oc iuh nauhxiujtl aciquiuj in Españoles, auh icoac mjc in neçaualpilli aocmo ixpan

175 And the sixth who became ruler of Texcoco was
648 Cacamatzin, who ruled four years. It came to pass in his time that the men from Castile arrived here.

Auh injc chicoacen tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in cacamatzin in tlatocat nauhxiujtl. Iehoatl ipã muchiuh injc açico njcan castillan tlaca

And the seventh who became ruler of Texcoco was Coanacochtzin, who ruled five years. It was in the time of both [Çoanacochtzin and] Quauhtemoctzin, ruler of Tenochtitlan, that the Mexicans were conquered.

Auh injc chicome tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco, iehoatl in Coanacochtzin in tlatocat macujlxiujtl iehoatl ipã muchiuh injc peoaloque mexica im omextin quauhtemoctzin tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

And the eighth who became ruler of Texcoco was Tecocoltzin, who ruled one year in the time of the men from Castile. Already at this time the Marquis was in Texcoco; here preparations for war were made by which he vanquished the Mexicans.

Auh injc chicuej tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in tecocoltzin in tlatocat cexiujtl ie imjxpan in Castillan tlaca ie icoac in tetzcuco catca marques vncan moiauchichiuh injc qujmpeuh mexica.

The ninth who became ruler of Texcoco was Ixtlilxochitzin, who ruled eight years. And when the Mexicans were conquered, [the Spaniards] went taking him with them. He stood by the Marquis. And [the Marquis] took him to Uei mollan.[3] It came to pass that in their time the city [of Texcoco] was completely quieted, that the Marquis and Coanacochtli together set [affairs] in order.

Injc chicunauj tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in ixtlilxochitzin in tlatocat chicuexiujtl auh in icoac peoaloque mexica qujujcatiuja in marques itlan ommoquetz ioã qujuicaia in vej mollan icholtin imjxpan muchiuh injc vel motlatlali ahtepetl injc tlauellalali marques nehoan coanacochtli.

175 The tenth who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Yoyontzin. He governed one year.

Injc matlactlj tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in ioiontzin in tlatocat cexiujtl.

The eleventh who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Tetlauelquitltzin. He governed five years.

Injc matlactloçe tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in tetlauelnetzqujtltzin in tlatocat macujlxiujtl.

The twelfth who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Don Antonio Tlauitoltzin. He governed six years.

Injc matlactlomome tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in don Antonjo tlaujtoltzin in tlatocat chicoacexiujtl.

The thirteenth who became ruler of Texcoco [is]

Injc matlactlj omej tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco,

3. Cf. *Codex of 1576* (J. M. Aubin: *Histoire de la nation mexicaine. . . . Reproduction du Codex de 1576* [Paris: Maisonneuve Frères, Editeurs, 1893]), p. 47, and *Mapa de Tepechpan.*

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the present ruler, Don Hernando Pimentel, who hath governed nearly twenty years.[4]

And in all the time that the Acolhua kept the reign, in all, have been counted three hundred and four years until the time the Spaniards arrived.[5]

iehoatl in axcan tlatoanj don hernando pimentel in/175
otlatocat achi cẽpoalxiujtl

Auh ie ixquich cauitl quipia in tlatocaiotl in aculhoaque in ie ic mocempoa caxtolpoalxiujtl ioan nauhxiujtl. in ixquich cauitl in oacico españoles

4. The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS (Primeros memoriales, Chap. III) has, for *achi cempoalxiujtl* (nearly twenty years), *cenxiujtl* (thirteen years).

5. In *ibid.*, this last paragraph reads, in part, varying from the *Florentine Codex*: "y yc in cenpoalxiujtl ynin cepoalxiujtl ynin cenxiujtl yc ōquizaco cenxil ynic ōcōtlalli españoles" (284 years until the year ago Two Reed in which we were set).

[p. 12 is blank]

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Sixth Chapter, in which it is told how signs and omens appeared and were seen, when the Spaniards had not yet come to this land, and when they were yet unknown to the dwellers here.

When the Spaniards were not to arrive here for ten years, an omen first appeared in the heavens like a flame, a tongue of fire, as if it were showering the light of the dawn.[1] It appeared as if it were piercing the heavens; it was wide at the base and pointed at the top. Well into the midst of the heavens, well into their center it stood reaching; well into the heart of the heavens it was arriving. [That which] thus was seen arose there to the east,[2] and when midnight had passed, it appeared that dawn was breaking. When day broke, soon the sun destroyed it when he arose. For a whole year it came forth (it was in [the year sign] Twelve House that it began), and when it appeared, there was much crying out as they struck their mouths with their hands. All were frightened; all waited in dread.

The second omen came to pass here in Mexico. Of its own accord, fire broke out and burned fiercely in the house of the devil Uitzilopochtli. No one set fire to it; of its own accord it took fire. It is said that the name of the place[3] was Tlacateccan. When [the fire] appeared, already the squared, wooden pillars were blazing. From within, the flame, the tongues and flames of fire, came forth. Very quickly it consumed all the house beams. Then there was shouting; [the priests] said: "Mexicans! Run here to extinguish [the fire! Bring] your earthen water jars!" And when they poured water upon it, when they tried to put it out, still more did it flare up. It could not be extinguished, and it burned completely.

[As] the third omen, a temple was struck by a thunder bolt.[4] It was only a straw hut, a place named

Ic chiquacen capítulo, vncan mjtoa in nez, in mottac, in machiotl, ioan in tetzauitl, in aiamo oalhuj españoles in njcan tlalli ipan, ioan in aiamo ixima-choia, in njcan chaneque.

In aiamo oallaci españoles, oc matlacxiujtl: centla-mantli tetzauitl achto nez ilhujcatitech, iuhquj in tlemjiaoatl, iuhquin tlecueçallotl, iuhquin tlauizcalli pipixauhticaca, injc neçia iuhquin ilhujcatl quiçoti-cac, tzimpotlaoac, quapitzaoac, uel inepantla in ilhuj-catl, uel iiolloco in açiticac ilhujcatl, vel ilhujcaiollo-titech açiticac in iuh ittoia vmpa tlapcopa in oalmo-quetzaia, oiuh onquiz ioalnepantla in neçia tlathuji-iaia, ipan tlathuja. Quin ichoatl quioalpoloaia in tonatiuh, in jcoac oalquiçaia: uel cexiujtl in oalmo-quetzaia (ipan matlactlomoome calli in ceuh) auh in jcoac neçia tlacaoacaia, netemujteoaia, neiçaujloia, tlatemmachoia.

Injc vntel tetzauitl muchiuh, njcan mexico, çan monoomauj in tlatlac cuetlan, aiac ma quitlecauj çan monoona tlecauj, in jcal diablo vitzilobuchtli mjtoaia itocaiocan tlacatecca in nez ie tlatla in tlaquetzalli iiiic oalquiça in tlemjiaoatl, in tlenenepilli, in tlecue-çallutl, cenca çan iciuhca compalo in iuquich calqua-uitl. Niman ie ic tlacaoaca quitoa. Mexicae, ma oallatzoca, tlaceujloz, amapilol: auh in jcoac caate-quiaia, in quicesujznequja, çan ie illujce mopitza aocmo uel çeuh uellallac.

Injc etetl tetzauitl, vitecoc ipan tlatlatzin teucalli, çan xacalli catca, itocaiocan tzommolco, iteupan in

1. This may be clarified by reference to Pt. 4, Book XII.
2. Cf. various versions in Chaps. I and III, and in Book XII, Chap. I, as well as in the Nahuatl version in the *Real Palacio MS.* the corresponding Spanish text, and Eduard Seler: *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun aus dem Aztekischen übersetzt* (Camillo Sachs-Sachs, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg, eds.; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroeder, 1927), p. 453. Alternative translations appear to be possible.
3. *Mjtoaia itocaiocan:* in a similar passage, the *Memorial de 3 Colmenar* (Francisco del Paso y Troncoso: *Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún—Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España* [Madrid: Hauser y Menet, 1906], VII, p. 93) has *mitoaya, quipeyaya, quiyeyeca.* Cf. also Pt. 5, Book XII.
4. Cf. Pt. 7, Book XII.

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● 175 787 Tzonmulco, the Temple of Xiuhtecutli. It was not raining hard, but only sprinkling. This was taken as an omen of evil, [for] it was said that it was only a summer flash, and that thunder did not sound.

[As] the fourth sign of evil, [while] there was still sun, a comet fell. It became three parts and began from where the sun set and went toward where he arose. It went as if showering sparks; for a great distance its wake went extending; far out did its tail reach. And when it was seen, there was much shouting; like [the rattle of] shells[5] it spread about.

[As] the fifth omen, the water [of the lake] foamed up, and the wind did not stir it up. It was as if it welled up, as if it boiled up with a cracking noise. Very far did it go as it rose upward, and it reached the lower parts of the houses; and, wet by the water, the houses crumbled. This was the great lake which extendeth by us here in Mexico.[5a]

[As] the sixth omen, often was a woman, who went weeping and crying out at night. She cried out loudly; she went about saying: "O my beloved sons, now we are at the point of going!" Sometimes she said: "My beloved sons, whither shall I take you?"

[23] [As] the seventh omen, at one time the fisher folk hunted or snared with nets. They took a bird of ashen hue, like a crane. Then they came to show it to Moctezuma, [who was in] the Tlillan calmecac.[6] The sun was past his zenith, and there was yet daylight. There was what was like a mirror upon its head—round, disc-like, and as if pierced. From it appeared the heavens—the fire drill, the stars. And Moctezuma took it as a most evil omen when he saw the stars and the fire drill. And when he gazed a second time at the bird's head, beyond, he beheld what appeared to be like a number of people, coming massed, coming as conquerors, coming in war panoply. Deer bore them upon their backs. And then he summoned the astrologers[7] and the wise men, and said to them: "Do you not know what I have

ziuhtecutli, anno tilacasia, çan acochquiauja in iuh tetzammachoc, iuh mjto in ca çā tonalhujtecor, amono caquiztic in tlatlatzinjlizti.

Injc nauhtetl tetzamachiotl, oc vnca in tonatiuh in xiujtl vetz: ietetia, vmpa oalpeuh in tonatiuh icalaquiampa, iuh vmpa itztia in jquiçaiampa, iuhquin tleruchtli pipixauhtiuh, ueca mocujtlapiltiuh, veca açitiuh in jcuitlapil. Auh in oitoc cenca tlacaeacac, iuhquin oiealli onmoma.

Injc macujltetl tetzaujtl, poçon in atl amo i ehecatl quipoçonalti, iuhquj mumuloca, iuhquj xixitemumuloca: cenca veca in ia injc- macoquetz, auh in calli tzitzintla-cacic auh capapachiuh xixitin in calli iehoatl in vej atl totlan manj njcan mexico.

Injc chiquacentlamantli tetzaujtl mjiecpa çihoutl cacoia chocatiuh, tzatzitiuh, ioalnca, cenca tzatzi: quitotinemj, nonopilhoantzitzin ie ic çan ie touj: in quenmanja quitoa, nonopilheantzitzin campa namechnoujqujliz.

Injc chicuntlamantli tetzaujtl, ceppa tlatlamaia, manoço tlamaitlaujaia in atlaca, centetl caçique tototi, nextic: iuhquin tocujlcoiotl. Niman quitzilico in motecuçuma, tlillan calmeçac omotecalo in tonatiuh, oc tlaca: iuhquin texcatl icpac manj, malacachtic, teujlacachtic, iuhquj xapotticac: vnpa onneçia in ilhujcatl: inmamalhoaz in çiçitlalti. Auh in motecuçuma cenca quimotetzauj in jcoac quimjttac çiçitlalti ioan mamalhoaztli: suh injc oppa ontlachix, in jcpac tototi: ene quittac iuhquj on in ma acame moquequetztiujtze, tepeuhtiujtze mojauchichiuhtiuitze quiuimama mamaça, auh njman quinnotz in tlaçiuhque in tlamatinjm: quimjlhuj. Amo anquimati, in tlein onoconjttac iuhquin acame moquequetztiujtze. Auh ie quinanquilizquja in conjttaque opoliuh aoc tle uel quitoque.

5. The term *ecatli* appears to be capable of interpretation as *rattle*, *ball*, or *shell*. Cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book I, *The Gods* (Santa Fe: The School of American Research and The University of Utah, 1950), p. 1, and Book VII, *Sun, Moon, and Stars* (1953), *Appendix*, where, under *Tzonmulco quiuh*, Sahagún's name 7 translates *ayecatli* earrings. Cf. also Eduard Seler: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1904), II, pp. 428, 462.

Cf. also Telio Nuttall: *The Book of the Life of the Ancient Mexicans* (Berkeley: University of California, 1903), Part I, fols. 8, 43, where the *ayecatli* are pictured in an anachronistic Codex in Florence, Italy.

5a. After *catic*, the Mexicanidee en 3 Colonnes reads: "*dask ouq' papachiuh ouqui nicino*"; after *mani*: "*dask yuic nocuep yuic nocuah yā no ompa ye ȝ ompa cuitatic ȝ ocq apiliqa.*"

6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*en la palaçio, en una sala, que llamauan Tlillan calmecac.*" Cf. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), IV, pp. 34-35 (nota c).

7. *Thapiadgue*: cf. Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), pp. 167, 171.

After *apoliuh*, the Mexicanidee en 3 Colonnes reads: "*aoc tle uel q'mopa. oc ceppa q'mihtoa ȝ diuinlogo. ya tlamatinjme, the yuic nonol quilliuiqe anno no yehuatl in quenonotl.*"

seen there, like a number of people coming massed?" And when they were about to answer, that which they looked at vanished. They could say nothing.

[As] eighth omen, often were discovered misshapen people. They had two heads, but only one body. They took them there to the Tlillan calmecac, where Moctezuma beheld them. When he had looked at them, then they vanished.

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Injc chicuetetl tetzaujtl, mjiecpa motenextiliaia tlaca, tlacanetzolti, ontetzontecomeque, ça cc in jntlac vnpa quimonujcaia in tlillan calmecac, vmpa quimjttaia in motecuçuma: in oquittac njman poliujia. [732]

[p.20 is blank]

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Seventh Chapter, in which are told many things which came to pass when the Spaniards had not yet come to this land, until the year '50.*

In the year 1519, when the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés, came to sally forth, very many boats came, in which the Spanish host traveled. And when Moctezuma knew of it, then he sent his emissaries, and they carried as greetings very many and costly articles.

And they thought that Quetzalcoatl had come. And when he went to arrive, then they gave and took all [which they carried] as greetings to this Captain, Don Hernando Cortés.

And when these Spaniards came to enter [the land], then the Tlaxcalans' Otomí[1] [warriors] went to meet them in battle. Not few, but very many thus fought and waged war with the Spaniards. And all of the Tlaxcalans' Otomí [warriors] died; the Spaniards slew them. By this were the Tlaxcalans much frightened, and these Tlaxcalans then sent messengers, [who] went to offer them food and all which they might need. And they welcomed them and escorted them to the homes of Tlaxcala.

And for a few days the Spaniards tarried and rested there. And the Spaniards then went there to Cholula. There they slew many Cholulans.

And after this, when Moctezuma had heard of it, he was much frightened; and all the people of Tenochtitlan were exceeding fearful. So once again he sent messengers. These whom this Moctezuma sent, lords and noblemen, went to meet the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés; they took with them a great deal of gold. And they went to meet him there between Popocatepetl and Iztac ciuatl, [at a place] named Itzalco.[2] There they conferred [with Cortés; one of]

Injc chiqueme capitulo, vncan mjtoa mjiec tlamantli in ihpan muchiuh in aiamo oalhuj españoles in njcan tlalli ipan, in jxqujchica vnpoalxiujtl onnmatlactli. 175

In jpan xiujtl 1519 icoac quiçaco in capitan don hernando cortes, cenca mjiec in acalli oalla in vncan oalictiaque in españoles in iuqujxque: auh in oiuh qujma in iehoatl motecuçuma, njman tlaihoiaque in jtitlanhoan, auh in qujtqujque in tetlapalolixtli cenca mjiec, ioan cenca tlaçotli in tlatqujtl. 175 648

Auh monatque, ca iehoatl in quetzalcoatl ohoalla: auh in jcoac oaçito njman mochi quimamacaque in qujtqujque tetlapaloliztli, in iehoatl, capitan don hernando cortes.

Auh in jcoac ic calactiujtze, in iehoantin españoles: njman quiiauhmjquito, in tlaxcalteca, imotonhoan: amo çan quexquichtin, cenca mjiequintin, ic oquimjcalque, oquinauchiuhque, in españoles. Auh mochintin, mjcque in tlaxcalteca imotonhoan, quinmjctique, in españoles: ic cenca momauhtique, in tlaxcalteca, auh in iehoantin, in tlaxcalteca, njmã ic tlaihoaque, quinmacato in tlaqualli, in jxquich intech monequj: ioan quinpaccatlapaloco: ioan quinhujcaque, in vmpa inchan in tlaxcallan.

Auh çan quexquilhujtl, in vncan motlalique, moçeujque, in iehoantin españoles. Auh in iehoantin, españoles njman iaque in vmpa chololan: vncan mjiequintin, quinmjctique, in chololteca.

Auh in jcoac, oiuh qujcac, in iehoatl motecuçuma, cenca momauhti: ioã yn jxquichtin, in tenochca cenca momauhtique: ic oc ceppa tlaihoa, in iehoatl motecuçuma iehoantin in qujmjhoa in tetecuti, in pipiltin, qujnamjquito, in capitan, don hernando cortes: cenca mjiec, in qujtqujque, in teucujtlatl. Auh vncan in qujnamjquito, in jtzalan popoca tepetl: ioan in jztac tepetl, in motenecoa itholco. Vncan qujnnonotzque, qujmacaque in jtlatol, in jta motecu- [202]

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* Corresponding Spanish text: "*Sumario de ello de XL.*"

1. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 102; Soler, *Riesgo Español*, p. 474, n. 1, citing Torquemada, cap. 66. Cf. also Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), IV, pp. 43ff., 149-150, n. 1.
   See also Book XII, Chap. xi.
2. Mendieta in Rémi Simeon: *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885), it is described as a "Mont qui domine à l'ouest la vallée de Mexico."

175 648 Moctezuma's elder[s] delivered his message. And they offered him all [the gifts with which] they greeted him. They extended to him the gold and still other [goods].

And [the Spaniards] came straight here to Mexico. When Don Hernando Cortés came to arrive, he readied himself for war. And Moctezuma went to meet him there by the houses [of the outskirts of Mexico], there at Xolloco. He went to receive him in peace. And he offered him adoration and greeted the Captain, Don Hernando Cortés. Then he took him there to the great palace. There all the Spaniards remained.

And after some days, the Captain imprisoned Moctezuma.

And when word arrived from the coast that still more Spaniards had arrived, the Captain went to meet them; he took some Spaniards with him, and [some] natives. And he left here Don Pedro Alvarado and still other Spaniards to guard the palace.

And when came the feast day of Uitzilopochtli, Don Pedro Alvarado and the Spaniards who were with him slew many Mexicans while they were observing the feast day of Uitzilopochtli. Thus war began.

And when the Captain returned from the coast, he brought many Spaniards. Not on this account did the Mexicans defer; they spread the war considerably.

[731] And the year 1520 was when Moctezuma died. And the Spaniards arose and went to Tlaxcala. And there befell a great plague here in Mexico; there was smallpox; and very many of the natives died.

In the year 1521, the Spaniards came once more. They stayed there in Texcoco. After some time they made war, and they vanquished and fought the Mexicans.

In the year 1522, once again the Mexicans gathered themselves and came together, those who had been dispersed and broken up because of the war.

[797] And the year 1524 was when the twelve Franciscan Fathers arrived to convert the natives of New Spain.

çuma: ioan quimacaque in ixquich in inteilapalouia, inin tetech açia, in teucujtlatl, ioan oc cequj.

Auh çan oallamelauh, in njcan mexico, injc açico in ichoutl, don hernando cortes, çan oalmoiauchichiuhtia, auh in motecuçuma, vmpa in quinamjquito in calteneo, in vmpa xolloco, çan quipaccanamjquito: ioan quitlatlauhti, quitlapalo in capitan don hernando cortes, njman qujujcac in vmpa vej tecpan vncan motlalique, in jxquichtin españoles.

Auh in jquezquilhuiioc, in ichoutl capitan oquiilpi in motecuçuma:

auh in jcoac oaçic tlatolli, in vmpa atenco: injc oc centlamantin oaçic españoles: in ichoutl capitan oquinnamjquito, cequintin quinuicac españoles, ioan njcan tlaca: auh njcan quicauhtia in don pedro aluarado, ioan oc cequintin españoles in tecpan tlapiaia.

Auh in jquac in oquiz ilhuiuh vitzilobuchtli, in ichoutl don p° aluarado, ioan in espanoles in itlan catca, mjequintin, quinmictique in mexica, in quilhuiquiztiliaia vitzilobuchtli, ic vmpeuh in iauiotl.

Auh in jcoac in oealmocuep, in capitan: in vmpa atenco, mjequintin, quinoalhuicac españoles, amo ic motlacaoaltique in mexica, cenca quitototzaia in iaujuel.

Auh in jpan xiuitl 1520 icoac onjc in motecuçuma, auh in ichoantin españoles, oquizque tlaxcallan iaque: auh uej cocoliztli muchiuh in njcan mexico, çaçaoatioac: ioan cenca mjequintin mjoque, in njcan tlaca.

In jpan xiuitl 1521, oc ceppa oallaque in españoles, ompa omotlalique, in tetzcuco, uecauhtica quinixchiuhque, quimpeuhque, quimjcalque, in mexica.

In jpan xiuitl 1522, oc ceppa oalmonechicoque, oalmocentlalique in mexica: in moiaoaca in xiuinca in jpampa iaoiotl

Auh in jpan xiuitl 1524, icoac açico in matlactin vmomen ilhoc frevcisco padreme, in quiuicaltoquitique in njcan nueua españa tlaca.

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—After Pane y Tezozo

Rulers of Tenochtitlan. 1. Acamapichtli. 2. Huitzilihuitl. 3. Chimalpopoca. 4. Itzcoatl. 5. Moctezuma the Elder. 6. Axayacatl. 7. Tizoc. 8. Ahuitzotl. 9. Moctezuma the Younger. 12. Quauhtemoc. 13. Don Andrés Motelchiuh. 14. Don Pablo Xuchiquen. 15. Don Diego Huanitl. 16. Don Diego Tzontequiti. 17. Don Cristóbal Cuepantzi. (Chapter 1.)

10, 11. Omens observed in Tenochtitlan (Chapter 1).

Rulers of Tlatelolco. 18. Quauhpopoca. 19. Tlacotzil. 20. Quauhtlatoa. 21. Moquihuix. 22. Don Pablo Tezozomoc. 23. Don Martín Ecatl. 24. Don Juan Axoltzoc. 25. Don Martín Tlacotzcatzil. 26. Don Diego Ommatochtzin. 27. Don Alonso Quauhtzochtli. (Chapter 2.)

[p. 36(c)]

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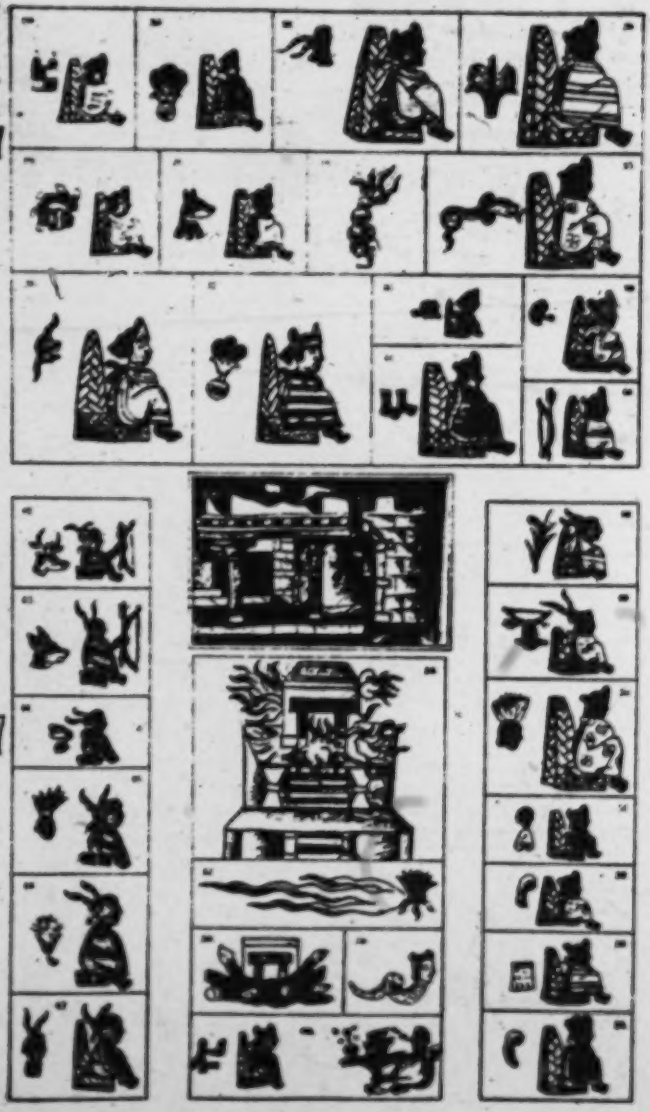
[786]

[787]



—*After Pano y Troncoso*

Rulers of Texcoco. 29. Tlahuicatzin. 30. Techotlalatzin. 31. Ixtlilxochitl. 32. Nezahualcoyotzin. 33. Nezahualpilli. 34. Cacamatzin. 35. Cuauhtemoctzin. 36. Tecuichpotzin. 37. Ixtlilxochitl. 38. Yoyontzin. 39. Tetlahuehuetzquititzin. 40. Don Antonio Vitzilihuitzin. 41. Don Hernando Pimentel. (Chapter 3.)

33. Omens observed in Texcoco (Chapter 3).

Rulers of Uexotla. 42. Mixtzin tecuhtli. 43. Tochin tecuhtli. 44. ·····tzin tecuhtli. 45. Quetzalxoc tecuhtli. 46. Tezapancihuatzin. 47. ·····tzin tecuhtli. 48. Xihuitzin tecuhtli. 49. Itla·····tzin. 50. Tlapalyoxochitzin. 51. Tecuanehuatzin. 52. Cuetlaxochtzin. 53. Itzpetzcatzin. 54. Cuitlahuatzin. (Chapter 4.)

55. Tollan (Chapter 5).

Omens observed in Texcoco (cont.). 56. Burning temple. 57. Comet. 58. Inundation. 59. Cloud of serpents. 60. Bird with mirror on its head. (Chapter 6.)

[p. 36(E)]
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—Hbr= Pare y Tremcen

Omens (concluded). 61. Two-headed men (Chapter 6).

62. Spaniards landing on the coast (Chapter 7). 63. Games of parall (Chapter 10). 64. Rolling a log on the soles of one's feet (Chapter 10). 65. Animals kept by the ruler (Chapter 10). 66. Judgment and punishment of malefactors.—Tlaxcalan (Chapter 14). 67. Same.—Quauhtlatlan (Chapter 14). 68. Same.—Tecpancalli (Chapter 14). 69. Merchants (Chapter 14). 70. Array and equipment for the dance (Chapter 14). 71. The ruler's animals (Chapter 14).

[p. 36(6)]

[p. 36(F) is blank]

7: Sahagún
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[Since the whole volume is an account of the Spanish conquest of Mexico and is therefore a historical document, this source has not been marked for category 175 (Recorded History). Researchers are referred to category 116.]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Coyucac is probably not the Coyuca de Benítez of today, but the one described by Xuarez as twenty-five leagues from Zacatula, near the sea, and adjacent to Axapoteca[7] (which in turn is adjacent to Xolochiuyan and Panotlan, *q.v.*).[8] This is the only Coyuca he describes in his report on his tour of the coast. Today it is called Coyuquilla.

Nochcoc is certainly the present Nuxco, also described by Xuarez.[9]

Panotlan is mentioned by Xuarez both as "Panutla" and as "Pamutla."[10] He places it at thirty leagues from the Villa and one league from the sea, confining with Çihautlan and Nochcoc. This rules out the present Pantla, west of the Río Ixtapa.

Petlatlan is one of the few surviving names, appearing today as Petatlán. It is given by Xuarez as twenty leagues from the Villa.[11]

Xihuacan has vanished. Xuarez places it nineteen leagues from the Villa and adjacent to Petlatlan and Cihuatanejo—both well-established places. He adds, "tiene en su termino una laguna de mucha pezqueria y donde se haze sal en cantidad."[12] This salty lagoon suggests the Salinas de Potosí, southwest of Petatlán on the "Millionth Map."

Xolochiuhyan, described by Xuarez as "Solochuca" and also as "Cholochuca"[13] and placed twenty-two leagues from the Villa, near the sea, has become Jolochuca of today, another of the towns of this province which may be definitely localized.

According to the writer's chronological study and the "Relación de Zacatula," Xolochiuhyan was the scene of Ahuizotl's first breakthrough to the coast and became his "frontier"—against whom, is doubtful.

Yztapan is given as the name of two towns by Xuarez. One[14] belonged to the encomendero, Anton Sánchez the younger, and was seventeen leagues from the Villa. The other, belonging to His Majesty, was thirteen leagues from the Villa,[15] close to the sea, and two leagues from the "Puerto de Çiguatanejo." Thus the pueblo belonging to

[7] *PNE*, 1: No. 900.
[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 899.
[9] He gives it as 33 leagues from the Villa. *PNE*, 1: No. 903.
[10] *PNE*, 1: Nos. 900 and 902.
[11] *PNE*, 1: No. 896.
[12] *PNE*, 1: No. 895.
[13] *PNE*, 1: Nos. 897 and 898.
[14] *PNE*, 1: No. 879.
[15] *PNE*, 1: No. 892.

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635 from the *Mendocino*. These lay along the insecure west, where memories of internecine strife mingled with that of the prevailing war against Michoacan. The relaciones made to Philip II in the 1580's [108] authorize the addition of these six towns: Otlatlan (1),[77] now Otatlán; Tenepantla (9), now Tlanipatlán;[78] Tetela (5),[79] now Tetela del Río; Tlacotepec (2);[80] Totoltepec (10);[81] and Zompanco (3), now Zumpango del Río.[82]

● [175] Tonalli imoquetzayan (22)—a conquest of Tizoc—seems to be the modern Tonaliquizaya, and Brand's map adds Tlatlaya (23) as a Mexican frontier post.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

638 *Atenanco* is one of the vacillating name forms like the equally common "Tetela." It is described, not very helpfully, in the sixteenth century, as being "junto a Taxco."[83] Though the "Millionth Map" gives it as "Atengo del Río," the Agricultura y Fomento atlas gives "Atenango del Río" in the same location. Moreover, a sixteenth-century relación[84] gives Atenango as northeast of Huitzoco.

Oztoma no longer exists, but colonial "Oztuma," which stood near the original town, left a relación which helps to locate it,[85] and a modern investigator informs us that the site is "located twenty-three miles west of Teloloapan, Guerrero, in the municipality of Acapetlahuaya,"[86] names which appear on the "Millionth Map."

Totoltepec is a ubiquitous and trouble-making name. There were famous homonyms, especially, in Hidalgo and southern Oaxaca, which are constantly confused. Del Paso y Troncoso sought to avoid ambiguity among the many Totoltepecs, ancient and modern, by calling

[77] "Eran de Moteçuma ... y le trebutavan" (*PNE*, 6: 128).

[78] *PNE*, 6: 144: "los sujetaron los mexicanos."

[79] *PNE*, 6: 133: "Le serbian [al rey de *México*] en la gerra que tenyan con los de Mechoacan y con los de Ajuchitlan."

[80] *PNE*, 6: 123: "Un rrei de México les bino a conquistar y allanar, con los quales tuvieron su gerra asta que los conquistaron, y Moteçuma envió un capitan ... para que los gobernase."

[81] *PNE*, 6: 149: "[En] tienpo del rrey de Mexico llamado Ajayacatzin tuvo gerra con ellos hasta que les sujeto."

[82] *PNE*, 6: 317: "Estavan subjetos a Moteçuma."

[83] *PNE*, 1: No. 90.

[84] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 224.

[85] *PNE*, 6: 113: "En otro tiempo estuvo poblado en un peñol que enespunable y muy fuerte."

[86] Lister, "Cerro Oztuma, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1941), 5: 210. See also Hendrichs, "¿Es el Arco de Oztuma de construcción Azteca?" *ibid.* (1940), 5: 142–147.

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the one we refer to "Totoltepec de Guerrero," but alas! there are two even in Guerrero, the other being an estancia of Ayutla, now called Tutepec."

Yoallan is the conspicuous variant in our list of names. This has become the modern Iguala. In the *Relación de Iguala* of 1579 we read: "Iguala en lengua castellana quiere decir escuridad."[a] "Escuridad" (*oscuridad*) is the meaning of Yoallan, as we see in the glyph of the town: a circle studded with "stellar eyes." The Náhuatl root is *yoalli*, "night."

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Of the people, Sahagún writes that they speak Mexican and are rich.[b] Tlachmalacac is the most northerly town specified to be "en la provincia que se dice Cuixco,"[c] but the Coixcatlalpan—as it was called—must have stretched even farther in that direction, since the Coixca joined Malinalco in an attack upon the Cuauhnahuac [Cuernavaca] after the latter's surrender to Cortés.[d] And to the east it must have extended beyond Tlalcoçauhtitlan in the adjacent province of that name. The latter town again is the last of which it is stated that "esta tierra se llama Coyscatlalpa y la lengua es coysca,"[e] but the people of distant Texaluca in southwest Puebla remembered in 1580 that they had served their Mexican masters by going to war against the "provinçia de Coyxco."[f]

Other towns of our province listed as speaking Cohuixca in the 1580's are Yoallan,[g] Cocolan,[h] Mayanala (14),[i] and Huitzoco.[j] Since

[a] *PNE*, 1: No. 28.
[b] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.
[c] "Estos couixcas y dapanecas son unos que a uno solo le llaman couixcatl y dapanécatl, y están poblados en Tepequacuilco y Tlachmalacac, es la provincia de Chilapan, los cuales hablan lengua mexicana, y son ricos" (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 133).
[d] *GPM*, p. 105.
[e] "Los naturales de una población que se dice Cuarnaguacar [*sic*] que eran mjetos á la cuidad y se habian dado por nuestros amigos, vinieron al real y dijeronme cómo los de la poblacion de Marinalco, que eran sus vecinos, les hacian mucho daño, y les destruian su tierra, y que agora se juntaban con los de la provincia de Coisco, ques grande, y querian venir sobre ellos a los matar porque se habian dado por vasallos de V.M. y nuestros amigos" (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], p. 233).
[f] *PNE*, 5: 249.
[g] *PNE*, 5: 86.
[h] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.
[i] *GPM*, p. 98.
[j] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 223: "Es lengua casi mexicana que se escrive."
[k] *Ibid.*, p. 224.

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acamilyxtlahuacan apparently underwent the same sort of abbreviation which made "Amacusac" out of near-by "Amacoztitlan" in Quauhnahuac Province.[a] 632

Teotlixtacan suffered the fate of other names bearing the prefix *teo-* from *teotl* ("divine, godly"), a sacrilege to Spanish ears. The partly synonymous *huey* ("great") supplanted the earlier prefix here.[b] In 1581, Teulistaca and Hueyztaca were used alternately;[c] since then, the name has atrophied unrecognizably to Huiztac.

Tenanco. Although there is no modern mention of the town, this is presumably the Real and Pueblo of Tenango which existed close to the west of colonial Taxco. Its borders are given as Nochtepec, Ichcateopan, Tasco, Acamistlauacan, Coatlan, and Teticpac, which enables us to place it.[d] And the name Tenanco—often interchangeable with this common place name—appears in the *Codex Mendocino,* folio 7', as a conquest of Moctezuma I, who was prominent in the reduction of this area.

It may be remarked that both *Tenan*guillo and Cacalo*tenango* lie within the area mentioned.

Tlachco was not the modern Taxco de Alarcón, but somewhat south and lower, the present Taxco Viejo.

Tzicapuçalco was the same town as the present Ixcapuzalco, we learn from a relación of 1569. Anciently it bore still another name, "Pindexo," perhaps applied by the aboriginal Mazatecos who were established in the Chontal region here.[e]

Çacualpan was a conquest of Itzcoatl, according to the historical section of the *Codex Mendocino,* and, as Itzacualpa, figures among the subject towns which received Ahuizotl after the conquest of Teloloapan (Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 528). [175]

[a] On location, see *GPM,* p. 178; *PNE,* 1: No. 37 and 6: 269.
[b] *PNE,* 6: 270, has a note on such changes.
[c] The latter in *PNE,* 1: No. 273, which gives its boundaries, also given in *GPM,* p. 174.
[d] *PNE,* 1: No. 6711: "junto a Tasco"; *ibid.,* 6: 266: "a la parte del occidente"; *ibid.,* 6: 275.
[e] *PNE,* 6: 94, which also provides its location. *Pindexo* is said to be the name of the calnic tree.

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one from each household. These mantles were paid locally on each of the eighteen fiestas of the year. Maize for tribute was grown on special lands."

4. Ocuilan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 12 of the *Matricula* and on folio 34' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Ocuilan, which now forms part of the southern portion of the State of Mexico. Only the *cabecera* is identified in the former document; the latter bears all names added in roman letters. The map which has been followed in restoring the province is the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Original and present place names are listed below:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Coatepec, 3	Coatepec Harinas
Ocuilan, 7	[No change]
Tenantzinco, 6	Tenancingo
Tequaloyan, 5	Tecualoya (Villa Guerrero)
Tonatiuhco, 4	Tonatico

One town remains to be located: Çincozcac.

To this list the two westerly towns of Zoltepec (2) and Temazcaltepec (1) have been added, on the authority of their sixteenth-century relaciones."

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Çincozcac is cited by Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 528) as Zicozcatlan, a town figuring in Ahuizotl's Guerrero campaigns.

The proper form *Zoltepec*, from *zollin*, "quail," has been restored with the authority of these relaciones."

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Sahagún" tells us that "those who are called Ocuiltecos live in the region of Toluca, on their lands and boundaries. They have the same ways and customs of those of Toluca,

" *PNE*, 6: 276: "Tributaban al rey de *México* y generalmente daban mantas de tres braças de largo y una bara de ancho, de algodon, y entre dos tributarios casados un guipil y unas enaguas .... Hazian una semestera grande entre todo el pueblo e lo que della cotian lo juntauan estos governadores y la dauan cada año a Monteçuma, y las mantas dauan de veynte a veynte dias."

" "Relación de Soltepec": "heran subjetos a los rreyes de México a los quales tributavan." "Relación de Temascaltepec": "eran en tiempo de su gentilidad subjetos a un señor de Mexico." *PNE*, 7: 11 and 20.

" *PNE*, 7: 101: "por los muchos codornices que ay se nombraron asi.

" *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 128.

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5. Tuluca

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Page 11 of the *Matricula* and folio 33' of the *Codex Mendocino* contain the province of Tuluca, which is now part of the State of Mexico north and east of the Nevado de Toluca (Zinantecatl). In the *Matricula* these towns are identified in roman letters, one of the names disagreeing with the version given in the *Mendocino* annotations, which are also present for every town glyph. This divergence is noted below. The present map is based on the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Below are the *Mendocino* names and modern names, in so far as the latter appear on the 1927 map:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Cacalomaca, 6	Cacalomacán
Calimayan, 8	[No change]
Calixtlahuacā, 2	Calixtlahuaca
Metepec, 5	[No change]
Mitepec, 7	Tlacotepec
Teotenanco, 10	Tenango (del Valle)
Tepemaxalco, 9	[Missing]
Tuluca, 3	Toluca
Xicaltepec, 1	[Missing]
Çoquitzinco, 11	Xoquicingo

Two towns remain to be identified: Capulteopan and Tepetlhuiacan.

Tzinacantepec (4) has been added to these. It was conquered with the rest of the province, according to the conquest lists of Axayacatl. Another source adds that most of the inhabitants of Tzinacantepec fled to Michoacan, to a place called Tlaulan, the remaining folk making a special milpa in the service of their new master.[39]

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rrachaa y ocote, que es para alumbrarse, y tinta hecha del zuma del ocote que se llama en su lengua ocodili."

[39] "Los de Zinacantepec ... se fueron á Mechuacán, adonde ahora llaman Tlaulan, y así quedaron en la obediencia del Señor de México, y tomó para sí todas las tierras, y las arrendaba, y repartió algunas, y por ellas le pagaban tributo. Demás de ésto todos los matalcincos que quedaron hacían una sementera para el Señor de México, que tenía ochocientas brazas en largo y cuatrocientas en ancho" (Zurita, "Breve y sumaria relación de los señores," in García Icazbalceta, ed., *Nueva Colección* ... [1858–1866], III: 221). The exiles in Tlaulan felt the yoke of their persecutors again, for the year following the accession of Tizoc, the Mexicans "hicieron la fiesta en el templo de Huitzilopochtli con la sangre de los Matalcingos y los de Tlaula" ("Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas," in García Icazbalceta, ed., *ibid.*, p. 253).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

is attributed to the Matlatzinca,[xxx] although in 1791 the Matlatzinca language is not mentioned in a "Descripción" of the place.[xxx] The religious importance of Malinalco is probably linked with an episode of the migration story of the Mexican tribe. This is given in several variants, the gist of it being that Malinalxochitl, sister of the tribal god Huitzilopochtli, being a great sorceress, was such a plague to the migrating tribesmen that they abandoned her en route, while she slept. She settled then at Malinalco, and bore a son, whose later attempt to avenge the family honor is a part of the story of the foundation of Tenochtitlan. The ramifications of the name Malinalco lead also into a maze of calendaric ritual, for the sacred grass Malinali was the twelfth day-sign.

It has been noted[xxx] that Malinalco joined the northern Cohuixca in attacking Quauhnahuac after the latter's surrender to the Spaniards.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Malinalco lay well embedded in the Empire, with Ocuilan to the north and west, Quauhnahuac to the east and south, and Tlachco to the south and west.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The annotations of the *Mendocino*, which we are following for our summary of tribute, do not distinguish between what Malinalco paid and what its fellow, represented on the same page, paid. However, the pictures do show this distinction, and from them we gather that Malinalco Province paid the following:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large mantles of soft henequen[xxx]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)[xxx]

[xxx] Cf. Gaste, "The Recently Discovered Malinalco Ruins," *Mexican Art and Life*, No. 2 (April, 1938), and Larsen, "The Monolithic Rock Temple of Malinalco, Mexico," *Ethnos* (1938), 3: 59–63. García Payon's more complete report appeared recently ("Los monumentos arqueológicos de Malinalco ...," *RMEA* [1946], 8: 5–63).

[xxx] "Descripción topográfica de la jurisdicción Malinalco," dated July 13, 1791, at Tenantingo: "Los Ydios de toda esta Jurisdiccion hablan el Ydioma Mexicano, á excepcion de el Pueblo de San Juan Azingo, que para su govierno interior, conserban el Ocuiltexa, de difícil comprehencion para los estraños."

[xxx] In the section on Tepequacuilco.

[xxx] To get this figure I have followed the *Mendocino* annotations, which specify 8 bins for Malinalco and the other province together. This I have divided equally, in view of the equal division of the bins as drawn in the picture.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

III. THE OLD TEPANEC DOMAIN

THE SEVEN PROVINCES which are considered next are linked historically by having been subject to the Tepanec tribe before the formation of the Empire of the Mexica. We know this because the major towns of these seven provinces are listed in a very early colonial document—which will be referred to repeatedly hereafter—as being former subjects of Tlacopan [Tacuba].[1] Tlacopan, of course, inherited these towns when the major Tepanec center of Azcapotzalco was wiped out, a century before Cortés, and brought them as her dowry to the new Triple Alliance. This early document is the only known record which approximates a tribute list of the Tepanec Empire. It is supported—though such support is really needless—by the relación of Tecpatepec (1579),[2] one of the towns of this region, which tells us that Tecpatepec was settled by a venturesome Indian of Azcapotzalco about 1370.

These seven provinces are not all the former Tepanec domain—we have statements from towns of the Toluca area which were included also[3]—but they seem to have formed the heart of it, and they embrace the region about which we may be most dogmatic. It is, on the whole, both physiographically and culturally, a geographical entity, a gateway and frontier of the Chichimeca.

7. QUAHUACAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Immediately to the west of Tlacopan, in the modern State of Mexico, lay the province of Quahuacan. It is depicted on the tenth page of the *Matricula* and on the copy of that page, folio 32' of the *Codex Mendocino*, and includes thirteen towns. The present map is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento, the 1:100,000 map, "Valle de México" (1937), on which nine towns of this province have been located.

[1] "Memorial de los pueblos subjetos a esta cabecera de tlacopan," published first in facsimile by Paso y Troncoso and printed in *ENE*, 14: 118.

[2] *PNE*, 6: 35.

[3] E.g., certain subjects of Teotenango: Atlatlauhca, Cepayauhtla, and Cuahtepec. *GPM*, pp. 163–164.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid in pre-Conquest days by Quahuacan Province:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 800 bundles of rich mantles**
800 bundles of little mantles of henequen**
41 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS: TIMBER (quarterly)

[313] 1,200 large planks
1,200 large boards
1,200 poles (*quaumimilli*, morillos)

8. Xocotitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 13 of the *Matricula* is divided into two sections, as has been
114 mentioned. The left-hand section contains the province of Malinalco,
175 the right-hand section that of Xocotitlan, with but a single town. The material concerning this one-town province is copied on the lower part of folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. In both manuscripts, in addition to the glyph, its name appears in roman letters. Xocotitlan [128] (1) is located on the authority of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," where it is spelled Jocotitlán. It lies in the modern State of Mexico, at the foot of the peak also called Jocotitlán. With Xocotitlan has been placed the town of Xiquipilco (2), a vaunted conquest of the Mexicans.** Five estancias were subject to Xocotitlan in the mid-sixteenth century,** which probably were under its jurisdiction pre-Hispanically. If these estancias could be located, they would define the frontier a little more precisely.

** Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco were conquered at the beginning of Axayacatl's reign, before the invasion of the Matlatzinca country, as the writer's forthcoming chronological study will show.

** *PNE*, 1: No. 799. These are Almolonga, Tlalchichilco, Tlamacuelpa, Tlalcuzpan, and Tlazomulco.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635
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[128]

y Fomento ("Valle de México," 1937; scale, 1:100,000). The correspondence of old and modern names appears below:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Cuezcomahuacã, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Quauhtitlan, 2	Cuauhtitlán
Tehuiloyocã, 4	Teoloyucan
Tepoxaco, 1	[No change]
Xiloçinco, 7	Xilotzingo

[103]

Two towns remain to be identified: Alhuexoyocã and Xalapan.

On the other hand, we may add two other subject towns to the province: Huehuetoca (5) and Tepotzotlan (3).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

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Cuezcomahuacan is said, in a document of 1570, to be subject to Tequixquiac; indeed, to be almost one with it.[20]

Huehuetoca figures in the list of subjects of Tlacopan.

Tehuiloyocan has become Teoloyucan and lies southeast of Huehuetoca. That it is the same pueblo is shown by the 1570 document, which places it "de este dicho pueblo de Güegüetocan una legua."[21]

Tepotzotlan is another of the former Tepanec towns.

Xalapan (not on the map) may possibly be the San Lorenzo Axalpan subject to Quauhtitlan.[22]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197
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Inhabitants and languages.—The rich and complicated history of the region is preserved in its annals, which cannot be summarized here. (Such a résumé may be found in Barlow's review of Velazquez' edition of *Códice Chimalpopoca,* in the *Hispanic-American Historical Review* [1947], 27: 520–526.) Quauhtitlan, Xiloçinco, and Tepotzotlan figured eventually among the towns of the Tepaneca, however; and the Náhuatl tongue predominated.

635
131

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quauhtitlan lay in the heart of the Empire. To the northwest was Atotonilco de Pedraza, to the northeast Hueypuchtla, to the east the lacustrine towns, and to the southwest Quahuacan.

[20] *GPM*, p. 67: "distante de la cabecera cuatrocientos pasos: está esta hacia el sur."
[21] *GPM*, p. 263.
[22] *FNE*, 3: 33, n. 1.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Chilton later fell into the hands of Indians near Santiago de los Valles (Ciudad Valles), and was threatened with cannibalism, but they feared his leanness to be due to the pox, and spared him. Scalp-taking here is noted by Chilton:

> ... they take a great pride in killing a Christian; and to wear any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

Native trade connections between the Valles area and distant Xalapa of Veracruz are also noted by Chilton.

In early pre-Hispanic times, Oxitipan was claimed, along with Tulancinco and other towns of the north, as part of the old domain of Xaltocan.[a]

Provincial borders in 1519.—In 1519, the province of Ctzicoac lay to the south; on all other sides, the province of Oxitipan lay open to Chichimec attack.

TRIBUTE

The town of Oxitipan, which probably included various subjects, gave the following tribute in the native period:

CLOTHING[bb]

2,010 bundles[b] of large mantles, each 2 varas long
806 bundles[c] of large mantles, striped red, blue, and yellow

FOOD[b]

400 loads of dried *axi*

OTHER TRIBUTE[b]

1 or more live eagles, as many as were caught

It is noteworthy that the same items of tribute, though in lesser quantities, were given annually in early colonial days to the Spanish masters of Oxitipan.

CLOTHING

9 "savanas"

FOOD

30 loads of axi
9 jars of honey
... maize

[a] *RNE*, 10: 226. [b] Corrected from 2,000. [c] Corrected from 800.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Ctzicoac, which is also called Xiuhcoac, Tziuhcoac, and Cicoaque, is another difficult problem. Meade[31] would locate it in or near the present Chicontepec; Melgarejo[32] presents considerable evidence that it is the modern Dr. Montes de Oca, formerly called San Isidro. The writer regards the problem as not yet completely solved, and prefers to indicate both possibilities on the map.

Huexotla de Hidalgo, which carried on war with Metztitlan, had Náhua gods and a cacique with a Náhua name. Geographic logic and the wars alluded to would place it within the Empire, though there is no absolute evidence that it was included. As the myopic "Relación de Huexotla" speaks only of the local chief, this town may possibly have been an independent city-state.[33]

Molanco is identified by Melgarejo as a "congregación de 159 habitantes en Izhuatlan de Madero." This seems to have been formed from a pre-Hispanic Tecpan Molanco, four leagues distant[34]—direction not specified. Tecpan Molanco is probably the *Matricula* pueblo and is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan." A homonym formed an integral part of the señorío of Metztitlan, according to the relación of that town.

Tamapachco, a hybrid Huaxtec-Náhua word, appears in the conquest lists of Tizoc. Since the subjugation of this town is mentioned jointly with the conquest of Miqyetlan (Mictlan), Tamapachco is presumably the modern Temapache. A homonym lying southwest of Aquismon was still called Tamapach in the eighteenth century.[35] We have put the northern frontier in this region at Temapache, though recognizing that Bernal Díaz speaks of a map in Moctezuma's possession which depicted the coast as far as Panuco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—As in the central Balsas basin, the Mexica could not or would not conquer the hot lowlands. The Río Panuco and its tributaries, the Moctezuma and Chicayan, lay outside the Em-

[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 290.
[32] *La provincia de Tuxpan* (1947), pp. 36–42.
[33] *FNE*, 6: 183–192.
[34] Melgarejo, *La provincia de Tuxpan* (1947), pp. 42, 53, and 63, cites AGN, Tierras, Tomo 1691, p. 263.
[35] Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), IV: 273.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Quachqueçaloyan is given as "dos leguas del mismo Atotonilco"[30] and seventeen leagues from México.[31] As "Tlaquetzaloyan" it appears eight leagues from Hueyacocotla.[32] It was one of two subject towns belonging to Atotonilco in the sixteenth century.[33]

Çtzihuinquiloca may be located from a literary reference, which places it southeast of Epazoyuca.[34]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants.—Tulançinco, in this province, was a town of great antiquity, a former center of the Toltecs of Tula, Hidalgo. Sahagún comments on the ruins at Tulançinco in the same breath with those of Tula itself and of Xochicalco.[35] These ruins have only recently been surveyed.[36] Tulançinco eventually became an important garrison town of the Acolhuaque,[37] and it was from this point, according to Tezozomoc's *Crónica mexicana* (p. 312), that the conquest of the Huaxteca was launched.

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Atotonilco el Grande lay between two *tierras de guerra*. To the north was Metztitlan, and probably a second city-state (Tototepec de Veracruz); to the south was Tlaxcala. East and west, however, were other Empire provinces, Tlapacoyan and Hueypuchtla.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of the province of Atotonilco el Grande to its overlords in Mexico is given below:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of rich mantles[38]
1,600 bundles of mantles of white nequen[39]
4 warriors' costumes with shields[40]

[30] *PNE*, 3: 91.
[31] *PNE*, 2: No. 133.
[32] *GPM*, p. 250.
[33] *PNE*, 2: No. 22.
[34] RHE, 2: 140: "Entre levante y sur [de Epazoyuca] estan muchos pueblos pequeños como tzihuiquiloca [*sic*] y tetlystaca y el pueblo de tepequeco está cinco leguas cerrillo llano."
[35] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), I: 8 and III: 109.
[36] By Carlos Margain; see Bibliography.
[37] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1891), II: 199.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

V. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHWEST

631 648 175

THERE IS a variety of evidence for ascribing a principal role to the Acolhuaque in the parts of Morelos and Guerrero we are about to examine. A list of towns paying tribute to Texcoco[1] names nine towns of the Cuernavaca area—a situation fully confirmed by Ixtlilxochitl, who relates the invasion of this region by Empire troops and adds, "cupieron á Nezahualcoyotzin con la cabecera de Quauhnahuac nueve pueblos."[2] (Some of these nine pueblos are in Quauhnahuac Province; others, however, are in adjacent Huaxtepec.) Ixtlilxochitl also tells how Nezahualcoyotl overran Tlalcoçauhtitlan and placed a governor over it.[3]

[128]

To the nucleus of three provinces (Quauhnahuac, Huaxtepec, and Tlalcoçauhtitlan) which the Acolhuaque certainly dominated, two others have been added (Chalco and Quiauhteopan). Their inclusion in this section is based on inference, a wish to maintain symmetry, the need of avoiding too many subdivisions, and the absence of conflicting evidence. It may be a great indiscretion.

21. CHALCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114

On the nineteenth page of the *Matricula* and folio 41' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Chalco, containing six principal towns, which lay in the south of the Valley of Mexico and reached down to the Valley of Morelos. Chalco is a province which presents several problems. Documents are curiously lacking, despite the great pre-Hispanic importance of the province. There is no sixteenth-century relación, for example, and maps of today are not very useful, but on the 1927 map of the "Estado de México" three of the towns have been identified, as follows:

[128]

[105]

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Chalco, 1	Tlalmanalco
Quauhxumulco, 2	Cuajomulco
Tepuztlan, 3	Tepoztlan

[1] Lehmann, pp. 1343.
[2] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras Históricas* (1890), II: 256.
[3] Quoted in n. 36 below.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Huiçilan, 22	Huitchila
Nepopoalco, 1	Nepozualco
Olintepec, 18	[No change]
Quahuitlyxco, 14	Cuautlixco
Quauhtlan, 15	Cuautla Morelos
Tecpaçinco, 23	Tepaltzingo
Tlaltiçapã, 21	Tlaltizapan
Tlayacac, 17	Tlayecac
Tlayacapã, 3	Tlayacapan
Totolapã, 2	Totolapan
Xaloztoc, 20	Xaloxtoc
Xochimilcaçinco, 13	Xochimecatzingo
Yacapichtla, 12	Yecapixtla
Yauhtepec, 11	Yautepec
Yzamatitla, 6	Itzamatitlan

Four towns remain to be located: Atlhuelic, Tehuizco, Tepoztlã, and Çonpanco.

To the foregoing list the names of certain other towns have been added, as follows: Hueyapan (10), Ocopetlayuca (9), and Tetela [del Volcán] (8).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Ahuehuepan: "Entre las Haciendas del Calderón y el Hospital se ven los restos de San Pedro Ahuehuepan y de Xochimilcacingo a la orilla, respectivamente, de dos barrancas tributarias de los afluentes del Río de Cuautla," according to Miguel Salinas, cited in Sotelo Inclán, *Raíz y Razon de Zapata, Anenecuilco* (1943), p. 59. The latter adds that Ahuehuepan existed half a league from Cuauhtla, and that its lands were taken away and the town was swallowed up by the Hacienda del Hospital at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Huaxtepec is cited by Cortés in his *Cartas y relaciones* (p. 213) as "Guastepeque, ... donde estaba la Gente de Culúa en Guarnición."

Hueyapan was subject to the Mexicans, and formerly to the Xochimilca.[10] Since it was linked to Cuauhtla Amilpas during the colonial period, it has been placed in the same province as that town.

Tehuizco is listed in a sixteenth-century source as being a league from Totolapa,[11] but cannot be found today.

[10] *PNE*, 6: 285: "eran antiguamente subjetas y tributarias a la corona Real de Mexico, pero la principàl subjeçion que deste pueblo de Tetella y Veyapan tenian era a Suchimilco."

[11] *PNE*, 6: 7, where Nepopoalco [Nepozualco] is located as half a league from Totolapan.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

VI. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHEAST

THE ACOLHUAQUE conquered the lands along the southern Gulf coast as well as those of the northern. Documentation is sparse but sufficient. Ixtlilxochitl names Tlatlauhquitepec and Quauhtochco, Cuetlaxtlan, and Tochtepec all as conquests made by Texcoco, and each of these towns heads a page of lesser tributaries in the *Matricula*. The "Relación de Cempoalla" supports Ixtlilxochitl and also tells by what means the Mexica later acquired the Texcocan dominions.

Xoconochco, the far-flung southern province, has been added to chapter vi simply because it fits no better elsewhere. It is the only province in this group of five which cannot certainly be called old Acolhua terrain.

26. TLATLAUHQUITEPEC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlatlauhquitepec lay in north-central Veracruz, extending somewhat into northern Puebla. The *Matricula* leaf on the recto side of which it is painted belongs between pages 26 and 27 of the manuscript as it exists today, but long ago it was torn out and taken to Philadelphia.[1] This detached page "26A" is copied in its proper place in the *Mendocino*, as folio 51r. Of the eleven principal towns of the province, nine have been located, largely on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names follow:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Atenco, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ayutuchco, 5	Ayotozco
Teodalpan, 1	Hueytlalpan
Teçiutlan, 9	Teziutlán
Tlatlauhquitepec, 7	[No change]
Xonotla, 3	Jonotla
Ysunahuac, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ysyauquitlalpa, 4	Yancuitlalpan
Ytztepec, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns remain to be found: Caltepec and Yxcoyamec.

[1] See Introduction, p. 7.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

103 An unpublished relación adds Xoxopanco (a) and Tzotzocolco (b). The following towns have been added on the basis of other information: Acatlan (10), Tlaculula (11), and Xilotepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acatlan was a Mexican garrison town.[5]

Atenco is probably "Atempan," which was a "cabecera por si en la corona" in the sixteenth century[6] and which may be found today on the Puebla map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas.

Teotlalpan may be identified with modern Hueytlalpan, the *teo*>*huey* change having been noted elsewhere.[7]

Tlaculula (also called Hueycalli) "fue subjeto y tributaua a Montecuma."[8] It seems to have been a major pre-Mexican center.[9]

Tzotzocolco lay north of "Güeytlalpan," near Xocopanco.

Xilotepec is cited as a tributary in the note to Tlaculula, above.

Xoxopanco lay five leagues north of "Gueytlalpan" and east of Zacatlan, according to an unpublished relación.

Yaunahuac appears on the Puebla map of 1908.

Yayauquitlalpa was an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec.[10]

Yztzepec appears as "Ixtepec" on the 1908 map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Yxcoyamec is mentioned as "Yxcuyomec," an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec, in the mid-sixteenth century.[11]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Tlatlauhquitepec was a conquest of the Acolhuaque of Texcoco;[12] its speech was chiefly Totonac and Náhuatl.

[5] *PNE*, 5: 113.

[6] *GPM*, p. 9; *ENE*, 14: 79.

[7] Cf. p. 23 above. In the present case, the *visita* of Diego Ramírez gives us a link, if any be really needed. In July, 1552, he is visiting Tlatlacotepeque [*sic*] and Gueytlalpa, "belonging to His Majesty" (*ENE*, 6: 174). A month later he sets the tribute of Teutlalpa to His Majesty and goes on to Tlatlacotepec (*ENE*, 8: 153). Further references to the town may be found in *Processos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3: 209–215.

[8] *PNE*, 5: 108.

[9] *PNE*, 5: 106: Xilotepec " ... rreconoçian con sus tributos al pueblo de Tlaculula y despues a Monteçuma: tributauan maiz, gallinas, liquidambar." *PNE*, 5: 110: Quauquauzintlan "eran de Tlaculula y despues fueron de Montezuma."

[10] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[11] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[12] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1891), I: 320.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtochco* figures among the garrison towns on folio 17ᵛ of the [712] *Mendocino* (see p. 128, n. 1), though no governor is mentioned.

Tuchçonco, though shown in the *Matricula* as a pre-Hispanic town, [715] seems to have been resettled in the sixteenth century. There are various documents concerning this resettlement, now kept in the Archivo General de la Nación, in Mexico City.[28]

Teuhçoltzapotlan was a doubtful name even to the *Mendocino* commentator.[29]

Ytzteyocan, like Tuchçonco, was subject to Cuescomatepec from the sixteenth century on.[30] It was later called San Nicolas Tolentino, then San Nicolas del Gentil, and, finally, Juventino Rosas.[31]

Ytzteyocan figures on folio 17ᵛ of the *Mendocino*, among the garrison towns (see p. 128, n. 1), although no mention is made of a governor or governors.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The troops of Texcoco brought Quauh-197 tochco itself into the Empire.[32] After various uprisings in the fifteenth century, it was finally so well assimilated that it remained faithful to Moctezuma in the Spanish Conquest.[33] Náhuatl was the native tongue; what preceded it is doubtful.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Quauhtochco was Tlax-131 cala; to the east the sea, from which Quauhtochco barred that dwindling state. Two Empire provinces lay to the north and south: Tlatlauhquitepec and Cuetlaxtlan.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Quauhtochco consisted of a narrow range of items:

CLOTHING

[691] 400 large mantles[34]

[28] E.g., AGN, Mercedes, 1: 56 and 40: 170ᵛ, speaks of "tuçonco, subjeto al [pueblo] de san juᵃ cuescomatepeque de la juriadizion de guatuxco." Domínguez (*Cuecomatepec de Bravo: I* [1943], p. 42) publishes the earlier document.

[29] He first wrote "çolan" and then rubbed it out.

[30] AGN, Mercedes, 1: 56, calls it "ytzeyuca," and the same ramo, 18: 303ᵛ, "ytzoyuca."

[31] Domínguez, *Cuecomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), pp. 17 and 56.

[32] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1891–92), I: 320 and II: 196.

[33] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), pp. 260–261.

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652 *Teopiocan* is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.[a] It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.[b]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan chronicler, was conquered by that power,[c] a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla." The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco and Tochtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

291

CLOTHING

400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**

714 317 237 301

2 warriors' costumes with shields*
1 string of chalchiuites*
400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

262

FOOD

200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.[d]

[a] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), IV: 134.
[b] *PNE*, 5: 230.
[c] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.
[d] RHE, 2: 131.
* *PNE*, 5: 9: "tributavanle cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

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It appears in the Mo-
632 648 [175] *matla*, which is the criterion of the present work, and the sixteenth-century relación says clearly enough that "este señor rreconoçia a Moteçuma,"[1] but Cortés himself, in his letters, explains that it was not subject to the Empire, and copies a message from his captains there who held out during the Spanish flight from the capital. These write that they were daily at war, during this period, with the Tochtepec garrison.[2] A less reliable document also claims independence for the Chinantec.[3] Presumably they were in reality subject, but precariously so, to Moctezuma.

632 131 *Puctlan.* There were two pre-Conquest Puctlans in this province. One, in the highlands of Oaxaca (no. 5), still exists as Putla, southwest of Tlaxiaco. The other (a) lay among the lagoons of the Río Alvarado, three leagues from Yxmatlahuacan,[4] three from Acula, and four from an unlocated Tlatlayan.[5]

632 712 *Tochtepec* was a Mexican garrison town, as the letters of Cortés show.[6] The "Relación de Chinantla" tells how judicial matters were forwarded to Moctezuma's garrison there.[7]

632 131 *Tototepec* may be the "Tepetotutla" on Bevan's map.

Yxmatlatlan appears as Yxmatlahuacan, three leagues from Puctla (*q.v.*).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Tochtepec was reduced by the armies of Texcoco, as they pushed down the coast.[8] The chief language of the

[1] *PNE*, 4: 60.

[2] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 204: " ... a la primera vez que ... vine, proveí, como en la otra relacion hice saber a V.M. que en dos o tres otras provincias ... se hiciesen para V.M. ciertas casas de granjerias ... e á una dellas que se dice Chinanta, envié para ello dos españoles; y esta provincia no es sujeta á los naturales de Culua." The message he wrote goes on to say, "con los de Tuxtepec ... cada dia tenemos ... guerra."

[3] In García Icazbalceta, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), II: 592: "Chinanta es provincia por sí, pequeña, en sierras; no obedecia á México, y en esta hay pueblos cada uno sobre sí, de diferentes lenguas: á veces son amigos unos de otros, á veces no."

[4] See Yxmatlatlan, below.

[5] *PNE*, 5: 236: "Tiene este partido otro pueblo que se dize Puctla questa metida en las lagunas del rrio de Albarado, tres leguas a la parte del poniente." It is also mentioned in *ENE*, 14: 87, and in n. 40 below.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 204.

[7] "E las cosas supremas, como hazer justiçia de algun principal e quitar la vida alguno, lo comunicavan con los yndios mexicanos que rresidian en el pueblo de Tuchtepeque, donde Moteçuma tenia una guarnicion de gente muy grande donde rrecojian los tributos de todos los pueblos desta tierra" (*PNE*, 4: 62).

[8] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197–198: "Conquistadas estas provincias que pertenecían al patrimonio del rey de Tetzcoco, pasó de allí con su ejército costeando

[Lista, Chinantlan — Analyzed]

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103

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Teopantlan, 3	[No change]
Tepeacac, 14	Tepeaca
Tepemaxalco, 18	
Tepexic, 11	Tepexi
Tetenanco, 16	
Ytzucan, 6	Matamoros Izúcar

Four towns elude identification: Atezcahuacā, Chiltecpintlā, Oztotlapechco, and Yeçochinanco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Náhuatl and Otomí were the principal languages of this province, though Chocho-Popoloca was spoken in Tecamachalco, Quecholac,[7] and Quauhtinchan.[8] Mixtec, in turn, was spoken by groups coming up from the south, some of which arrived in late times, during political upsets in Coayxtlahuacan.[9] 197

Provincial borders in 1519.—North of Tepeacac Province lay Tlaxcala, with whom it skirmished continually. Its boundaries in the other three directions were less insecure, as it was bordered by the Empire provinces of Huaxtepec on the west, Cuauhtochco on the east, and Yoaltepec on the south. In the last-named direction the frontiers have been placed south of Yzucar and Tepexic, and north of Acatlan and Piaztla. This choice is rather arbitrary, but in the 1580's Acatlan and Piaztla remembered former wars with the two towns depicted on the *Matricula* page,[10] hence may finally have been integrated into another province in the interests of peace. 635 131 [648]

Regional names.—Certain towns are listed in the relaciones of the 1580's as belonging to the Coatlalpan, a name which likewise appears in this zone on the Ortelius map of 1579. These towns are Epatlan,[11] 635 175

[7] *PNE*, 5: 20: "en lo que toca a las lenguas, la general desta ciudad y pueblos de su probincia hablan la lengua ... mexicana ... eçeto que los pueblos de Tecamachalco y Cachulac comunmente [hablan] otra lengua tosca llamada popolucan eçeto que toda la gente noble hablan poco o mucho la mexicana; ansi mysmo ay ynterpolados algunos naturales que hablan otra lengua que llaman otomy, que esta, fuera de la mexicana, es la mas natural en este reyno por haber muchos pueblos della."

[8] See the opening lines of Preuss and Mengin, *Die mexicanische Bilderhandschrift Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca* (1937).

[9] *Ibid.*, vss. 322–324.

[10] *PNE*, 5: 60, 79.

[11] *PNE*, 1: No. 248.

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635 Teonochtitlan,[7] Teopantlan,[8] and Ytzucan.[9] Tezozomoc speaks of
175 Coatlalpan as being situated near the Marquesado.[10]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tepeacac and her subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (2 of maize and 2 of beans)*

OTHER GOODS

317 4,000 loads of lime
314 4,000 loads of thick canes
281 8,000 loads of canes for arrow shafts
482 800 deerskins
8,000 loads of *acayetl* "performes que usan para la boca"
200 *cacaxtles*[11]

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Ahuatlan (a) paid a tribute of cane.[12]

Coatzinco supplied cane, shields made of the same material, spearheads, bows and arrows, and white lime.[13]

[701] Texalucan (b) claimed to have given military service only—the enemies including the distant Coixca.[14]

Çoyatitlanapa (c) paid a tribute of canes, spearheads, white lime, shields made of cane, and wild cotton for padding armor.[15]

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[7] More exactly, Tepexuxuma, next door to Teonochtitlan. *PNE*, 1: No. 540.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 559.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 292.

[10] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), pp. 533–534: "los pueblos de Coatla[l]pan y ... la tierra caliente, que ahora llaman del Marquesado."

[11] Wooden frames for carrying goods on the back with a tumpline.

[12] *PNE*, 5: 82–83: "Dicen que en tiempo de su ynfidelidad fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y sus pasados, y que le seruian y tributauan rrodelas de canas maçiças que en lengua mexicana llaman otlatl."

[13] *PNE*, 5: 95: "Dicen fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y de los Señores de Mexico, y le seruian con rrodelas de cana maçiça, con canas fuertes, y nauajas para lanças, cal blanca, flecha y arco para pelear."

[14] *PNE*, 5: 86: "Dizen que fueron vasallos de Motecçuma y sus pasados," making war against the "prouinçia de Coyxco y captiuauan gente que lleuavan a Mexico a Motecçuma para que se sacrificasse." For Coixca, see section on Tepequacuilco, p. 17, n. 41.

[15] *PNE*, 5: 90: "En tiempo de su ynfidelidad eran de Motecçuma, señor de Mexico, y sus pasados dauanle de tributo cal blanca, canas maçiças grandes, y nauajas para poner en las lanças, y rrodelas de cana maçiça para pelear, y algodon: algodon siluestre para jacos y cosseletes que vestian los hombres de guerra, que todo lo rreferido lleuauan a Mexico."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was Mixtec in speech, except for Cuicatec (extending eastward from Cuicatlan), Chinantec (north and east of Atlatlaucca), and, curiously enough, Chocho-Popoloca in the very heart of the province (Tamaçulapan to Coayxtlahuacan).

101 175 In Coayxtlahuacan Province centered the rich and complicated Mixtec culture, concerning which some detailed information has been preserved for us in such codices as the Nuttall and the Vindobonensis. Most extensive data on the pre-Hispanic history and ethnography of this region can be recovered from these manuscripts when they are fully studied. Many of the towns of this province were originally important city-states, with their own dynastic histories.

171 805 Among the notable cultural differences separating the peoples of this province from the Náhua, are such variant calendar systems as the Mixtec, studied by Jiménez Moreno,* and the Cuicatec, in the still inadequately investigated "Codex Fernández Leal."

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—At the height of the Empire of Moctezuma, Coayxtlahuacan had certain half-intimidated (though not actually subjected) zones to the north, the sprawling Empire province with its Oaxaca garrison to the east, the still resisting Mixtec city-states** to the south, and Tlaxiaco and other Mixtec towns, recently overrun, to the west.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was exploited for the following items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of quilted mantles, richly decorated**
400 bundles of mantles, striped red and white**
400 bundles of black-and-white mantles**
400 bundles of loincloths**
[714] 400 bundles of women's blouses and skirts**
2 warriors' costumes together with shields*

* *Códice de Yanhuitlán.*

** Such as Puctla, Zacatepec, and others the relaciones of which appear in *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix.

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in the relación of the "pueblos peñoles," hence we have restored the proper spelling.

Quauxilotitlan appears in the sixteenth-century sources as "Guaxilotitlan," two leagues from Etlan, the name being derived from "quauxilotl." It should not be confused with Quauxiloticpac, mentioned above. The inhabitants of Quauxilotitlan "were subject to Mocteçuma for many years before the Spaniards came."[110]

Teonitlan del Valle was subject first to the Zapotec lords (at Teozapotlan, and then to the government in exile at Tehuantepec) and afterwards to the imperialistic Mixtec of Coyolapan.[111] And Coyolapan appears in the *Matricula*.

Teotzacualco was a Mixtec city-state which had made an "arrangement" with Moctezuma a few years before the Spanish invasion.[112]

Teozapotlan, or "Zaachila," as it is better known, was the traditional seat of Zapotec power. Since various pueblos of the Valley of Oaxaca, in their sixteenth-century relaciones, are said to be subject to Teozapotlan, no mention being made of Moctezuma, it is important to point out that Teozapotlan fell before the Mixtec of Coyolapan late in aboriginal history (the Zapotec caciques then retiring to Tehuantepec). Coyolapan in turn was subjugated by the Triple Alliance.[113] Consequently, any town said to be subject to Teozapotlan may be considered to be subject to the Mexica.[114] The relación of Teozapotlan speaks only of a near-by Mexican garrison close to Oaxaca City which had been put there "by means of good friendship and without war." Teozapotlan is stated to have been quite independent (a reminiscence of earlier and better times?) and to have paid tribute to this Mexican garrison "only in order to be friendly."[115] Tribute is tribute.

[110] *PNE*, 4: 197: "los naturales del estaban subjetos muchos años avia, antes que los españoles binjesen, a Moteçuma."

[111] *PNE*, 4: 195.

[112] *RMEH*, T. 1, Appendix, p. 175: "En tiempo de su gentilidad reconocian á su señor natural que abian traydo del pueblo de tilantongo ... que pocos tiempos antes que los españoles binyesen los sujeto montesuma por conciertos que entre ellos vbo."

[113] "Relación de Cuilapa," *Tlalocan* (1945), 2: 19–20.

[114] The truth of this assumption is confirmed by the relación of Macuilxochic (*PNE*, 4: 102: "... les mandava el señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan") and by the glyph of that town in the *Matricula*; also, by the relación of Tetiçpac (*PNE*, 4: 111: "en tiempo de su infidelidad tuvian por señor al cacique de Teoçapotlan y despues tuvieron a Montezuma Señor de Mexico") and see also the *Matricula*.

[115] *PNE*, 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solo avian los de Tututepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran

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VIII. THE HEART OF THE EMPIRE

37. Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco

Sources of the Map

● 175 On pages 1 and 2 of the *Matricula* and on folios 17ᵛ and 18ᵛ of the *Codex Mendocino* appear the glyphs of the towns of a tributary province, together with a group of glyphs of a different nature. To segregate the information useful for this study, a minute examination of these pages is unavoidable.

The body of the *Matricula* follows a certain scheme: around the outer edges of the page a band of place glyphs ordinarily appears and, within this three-sided frame, figure paintings of the objects paid as tribute by the towns listed. The first leaf, however, departs from this scheme on both its recto and verso sides, and forms the object of the present remarks.

These pages of towns and tributes (pp. 3–28 of the *Matricula* as it exists today), together with two leaves which were separated from the manuscript more than a century ago (the oft-mentioned American Philosophical Society leaves) are copied, more or less faithfully, as "la segunda parte de esta ystoria" in that tripartite compilation, the *Codex Mendocino*, which is divided into: (1) "History of Conquests," (2) "Tribute," and (3) "Ethnography."

In the body of the *Matricula* and its copy ("la segunda parte de esta ystoria") the tributary condition of a wide area is told in detail, but no mention is made of the very environs of the capital, Tenochtitlan.

Preceding the beginning of section 2 ("Tribute") of the *Codex Mendocino* there appears a double page (fols. 17ᵛ and 18ᵛ) which is partly equivalent to the first leaf of the battered *Matricula*. The copy is infinitely more legible than the original, and must be drawn on to understand the latter. Rather exceptionally, in this copy (*Mendocino*, fols. 17ᵛ–18ᵛ) the materials of the original (*Matricula*, pp. 1–2) are rearranged, and, since it is the more complete, we cannot be entirely sure of the order of the original glyphs, though we may be certain that their content was copied faithfully.

The content of these pages (which indicates that the first part of the *Mendocino* is a copy of a lost group of pages of the *Matricula*) is two-

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fold: we have a list of certain garrison towns with their governors—the framework of the Empire—and we have a list of those towns near Tenochtitlan of which no mention is made in the long series of tribute pages. (Even here, however, only the towns are listed, and not their tribute.)

Frontier garrison towns mentioned with Çitlaltepec.—Page 2 of the *Matricula* is divided in two by a horizontal line, and the upper half is subdivided by a vertical line, three divisions resulting. In the upper left appears a glyph of a box filled with water. The *Mendocino* identifies it as Atzacan (unlocated). Beside it is a nopal, which is identified in both manuscripts as Xoconochco (Soconusco). Below are two towns which lay close together in the northern extreme of Puebla (see chap. iv, pp. 61–62): Atlan and Teçapotitlan (also identified in both manuscripts).

Glyphs representing the four garrison towns appear on folio 18ᵛ of the *Mendocino,* accompanied by the comment that these towns and certain others had special governors "porque no se rrebelasen." To this group the *Mendocino* adds a town glyph from the preceding page of the *Matricula:* Oztoma, the great Guerrero fortress on the Tarascan frontier.

Page 1 of the *Matricula* is badly effaced, but we can recognize the remnants of four town glyphs: Oztoma, in the lower left-hand corner (copied out of place in the *Mendocino,* as noted above); and three others (*Mendocino* copy, fol. 17ᵛ), Poctepec (lower right, unlocated) and, identifiable with the two remaining tepetl-glyphs of the *Mendocino* (fol. 17ᵛ), Huaxac[ac] (Guaxacac) and Çoçolan in the upper part of the drawing.

This is all the *Matricula* tells us. Probably a whole sheaf of pages is lost from the beginning of this remarkable manuscript: a section referring chiefly to the conquests of the Tenochca and their allies, which we know only through the *Mendocino* (sec. 1). In the present case, however, we need not lament the lack of further information, for we have it—though certainly rearranged—in the copy (e.g., Oztoma).

Three other glyphs of key towns in various parts of the Empire appear in the *Codex Mendocino,* folio 17ᵛ, in the upper center, upper right corner, and right margin center respectively: Quauhtochco

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175 (Huatusco, Veracruz), Quecholtenanco (south of Chilapa), and
712 Ytzteyocan in the province of Quauhtochco. With these three glyphs, preserved only in the *Mendocino* and lost from the *Matricula*, our information about the garrison towns ends.[1]

175 *Tributary towns in the Çitlaltepec zone.*—Eleven other town glyphs
632 which must have been included in a section now lost from the *Ma-*
65 *tricula* are given in the *Mendocino* on folio 17v, ranging down the edge of the page and across the bottom in approved form. The towns fit neatly into our map, as they lie north and south of Tenochtitlan. We shall have to assume that they are the missing tributaries. They are treated as such in this section, even though we know nothing of their tribute.

103 Of the eleven towns of the tributary province, nine can be located;
[128] and these nine towns, listed below, form a series which is to be seen on the 1:100,000 map, "Valle de México," of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1937):

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acalhuacan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Acolnahuac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Coatitlan	[No change]
Chalco Atenco, 6	Chalco
Puputlan, 4	Popotlan
Tzonpanco, 2	Zumpango
Xaltocan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yztacalco, 5	Iztacalco
Çitlaltepec, 1	Citlaltepec

Other towns seem to have vanished: Coatlayauhcan and Huixachtitlan.

635 *Tlatelolco.*—A certain gap occurs in the very center of this queerly shaped province, between northerly Xaltocan and southerly Yztacalco,

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], I: 302) speaks of three of the four major garrisons of the *Matricula*, Xoconochco, Oztoma, and Atlan or Teçapotitlan: "... paresçe ser que como el gran monteçuma tenia muchas guarniçiones, y capitanias de gente de guerra, En todas las provinçias, que siempre estavan junto a la rraya dellos, porque vna tenia En lo de soconusco por guarda de lo de gustimala y chiapa, y otra tenia En lo de guaçaqualco y otra capitania En lo de mechuacan, y otra a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchpa], y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nombre almeria [Nautla] ques En la costa del norte ...." He substitutes Coatzacualco (of which he was encomendero) for Atzacan, omitting Huaxacac [Guaxacac] and Çoçolan in Oaxaca, and Quecholtenanco in Guerrero—as well as the towns for which no governors are mentioned, Poctepec, Ytzteyocan, and Quauhtochco.

[Since the whole volume is an account of the Spanish conquest of Mexico and is therefore a historical document, this source has not been marked for category 175 (Recorded History). Researchers are referred to cateogyr 116.]

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

726 727 set, were all carried into captivity except such as could escape into the wilderness lying beyond their cultivated areas of soil.[176]

726 175 The Mexicans, however, were not exclusively successful on their numerous forays and expeditions. More than once they met with severe defeats, and on one occasion even, in their attack upon Michhuacan, in 1479, they were so terribly beaten that they never afterwards renewed the attempt.[177]

726 Besides, in their constant wars against the rival confederacy, also of "Nahuatl" stock, at whose head was the tribe of *Tlaxcallan* or Tlascala, the fortunes of the day often turned against the Mexican invaders, or at least assailants.[178] In the first instance, that of the defeat in Michhuacan, the Mexicans actually fled from the battlefield in consternation, pursued by the victorious enemy across the "war-ground," but no further.[179] The engagements with the tribes of Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, or Cholula, were fought so near the valley that even if the Mexicans had been worsted during the day, they could retire quietly and mostly unmolested the next morning.[180] The manner in which such retreats were carried on is hardly known.

[176] Tezozomoc (Cap. LXXXIV, p. 148) describes as follows the attack upon Nopallan and Yopaipec: "Arriving at midnight, they moved so secretly that they reached the "royal house, counted the entrances and sallies, ascended to the top of the temple," etc., etc. Then the scouts returned to the main temple, reporting upon what they had found, and when the morning star arose they fell upon the settlement, "each body "moving like a strong wall and with the swiftness of lightning, ... and they "began to slaughter so furiously that neither old people, nor women, nor children "were spared, and they set fire to the houses, also to the temple, so that the place "looked like a volcano." (Compare the reports upon the burning of Schenectady by the French and Indians, in 1690,—contained in vol. I, of "Documentary History of the "State of New York." pp. 297-312.)

[177] Tezozomoc (Cap. LII). Durán (Cap. XXXVII). The date is fixed by Señor Alfredo Chavero, of Mexico, in his valuable essay entitled "Calendario Azteca" (p. 4).

[178] This confederacy consisted of Tlaxcallan and Huexotzinco,—perhaps also Atlixco. Cholula may, to a certain extent, have been included in it, but it was certainly not any longer the case when Cortés arrived. On the contrary, Cholula was then on friendly terms with Mexico. Cortés says ("Carta Segunda," Vedia I, p. 19): "por-"que los naturales della eran amigos de Mutezuma;" and, further on (p. 21), "y fice "que los desta ciudad de Churultecal, y los de Tascalltecal fuesen amigos, porque lo "solian ser antes, y muy poco tiempo habia que Mutezuma con dadivas los habia "adquido s' su amistad, y hechos enemigos de estotros."

[179] The pursuit lasted until they reached Tlaximaloyan (Tagimaroa), at the confines of Tolnca. Tezozomoc (Cap. LII, p. 86): "Llegó' el campo Tarasco hasta Tagi-"maroa, que dizen Tlaximoyalan: los cúyos que habian llegado hasta los terminos de "Tolnca se volvieron, viendo que en campo ño llegava: al iva adelante." The pursuit of the Michhuacanese consisted in harassing the Mexicans with arrows, but no close combats are mentioned.

[180] The wars of the Mexicans against Tlaxcallan and its associates were a struggle for definitive supremacy, and not, as many authors have it, pre-arranged regular bat-

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

361 An attack by water could easily be repelled from the housetops,
312 and with the aid of the numerous canoes.[200] An Indian host, ad-
712 vancing upon the causeways, found serious impediments in the cuts converted into trenches by removal of the bridges. Against a sudden onslaught, a surprise, Indian fashion, Mexico was therefore amply secure,[201] nothing short of a siege might overcome its defenses. But no Indian force alone could attempt and carry out such an undertaking; it required the resources which the *Spaniards, as European soldiery*, possessed.

726 The effect of the first contact of the whites with the Indians of Mexico was to astonish, nay, to stupefy, the latter. They *felt*, rather than realized, that the few people who ventured so unconcernedly in appearance, among largely superior numbers, should possess superior resources to counterbalance their numerical inferiority. But the true nature of these resources was unconceivable to them, and they had no time to improve as the emergency would have required. Thus their warfare against the Spaniards became limited to all they might achieve according to their actual state of culture, and if they succumbed in the struggle, we need not be surprised. Besides the vast inferiority in armament, there existed a proportionate one in military tactics. In the words of the most celebrated author on the History of the Conquest: "They knew not how to concentrate numbers on a given point, "or even how to sustain an assault, by employing successive "detachments to support and relieve each other. A very small "portion only of their array could be brought into contact with "an enemy inferior to them in amount of forces."[202] We may add that their tactical conceptions did not go beyond the rude snares invented by savage cunning, and in their first encounters with the Spaniards (when they yet relied upon numerical superiority) beyond a fierce and disorderly onslaught.

726 It may not be misplaced here to review some of the principal
175 engagements fought between the Mexican Indians and their Spanish conquerors. For this purpose we select the campaign of Cor-

[200] These canoes, "acalli," were constantly in motion within and around the pueblo. They kept up communication with the shores, and also served to carry the warriors, if necessary. We refrain from repeating here the many exaggerating reports about their numbers.

[201] Besides, constant watch was held by the priests on the summits of the temple pyramids. These were the real "guards" of the pueblo, in the daytime as well as at every hour of the night.

[202] Prescott ("History of the Conquest of Mexico," 1850. Vol. I, Book III, p. 445).

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tés against Tlaxcallan, and the celebrated fight near Otumpan, both of which have been so beautifully described by Mr. Prescott. Although in the engagements against the Tlaxcallans the Mexicans proper were not concerned, we know that both tribes were so nearly alike in military resources and faculties, that we can easily substitute the one for the other, taking the action of the one as illustrative of the action of the other in a similar emergency. At Otumpan Mexicans and allied tribes opposed the Spaniards. Both examples will more particularly relate to *offensive* warfare, being combats in the open field.

Purposely we have used the term of "*campaign*" as connected with Tlaxcallan, avoiding the conception of "battles," or "great "battles" even, so liberally employed by the majority of authors. It is erroneous to admit that *regular battles* were ever fought during the time Cortés advanced against the pueblo of Tlaxcallan. As far as we can rely upon the testimony of eye-witnesses, they merely prove that the Tlaxcallans allured, so to say, by the numerical inferiority of the Spanish invaders, pounced upon them with all the fury of a wild horde and, being saluted by a well nourished fire of murderous effect, they returned to their primitive warfare of decoys, ambushes, and surprises, hoping to tire out the Spaniards through this constant and desultory skirmishing. The tactics of Cortés, on this occasion, were simply to hold out in defensible positions; a task of no small difficulty if we consider that his men during many days could obtain no rest, and scarcely any food. But by persevering in this attitude he "turned the tables" upon the Indians of Tlaxcallan by finally tiring out, and wearing out, their power of *aggression*. Then *he* took the *offensive*, and by successful dashes, both revictualled his people and brought the enemy to favorable terms.[203]

[203] The descriptions furnished by various authors of the 16th century, of this campaign against Tlaxcallan are most contradictory. Ixtlilxochitl says in his 13th Relation ("De la venida de los Españoles") that from Cempoalan to Tlaxcallan "the natives "received them with the greatest joy, feasted them, and there were neither fights nor "quarrels, beyond those which the Spaniards themselves provoked; *if there were any at all.*" In the "Histoire des Chichimèques," however, the same author speaks of an action of two days, in which he estimates the numbers of the Tlaxcallans at 150,000 men (Cap. LXXXVIII, p. 189).—Tezozomoc (Cap. CX, p. 196) relates that the Otomies of Tecoac met together and spoke: "are we perhaps the vassals of those that have come? "did they overcome us in just war? come on, Chichimecas, to arms against them!—and "so, as like mountaineers, they forthwith armed themselves, and as they came shouting "and hurling darts, the camp armed also, and gave them a discharge of small arms "and fieldpieces, so that after an hour nothing more was left to do, the entire field "being covered with dead bodies." This agrees almost verbally with Sahagun (Lib. XII, Cap. X, p. 433).

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726 175 Of all the actions fought during the conquest none has taken so much the character of a regular battle as that of the 8th of July, 1520, and commonly named the battle of Otumpan. It was, however, but a "running fight," lasting a whole day or nearly. The Spaniards, without fire-arms, almost famished, reduced in numbers, and mostly all wounded, were pursued as soon as they left the pue-

Cortés ("Carta Segunda" Vedia I, p. 16 and 17) gives a clearer description from which we glean the following facts: On entering the Tlaxcallan grounds, the van-guard of the Spaniards fell into an ambush, which they soon forced. "E desque sintiéron que "los nuestros se acercaban se retiraron, porque eran pocos, y nos dejaron el campo." He then moved on to a small stream, one league further, where he established his camp. The next day the Spaniards proceeded further, and were soon assaulted by a number of Indians. "Muy armados y con muy gran grita, y comenzaron a pelear con nosotros. "tirándonos muchas varas y flechas." This attack was a feint, and drew the whites into an ambuscade ("hasta nos meter entre mas de cien mil hombres de pelea, que por todas "partes nos tenian cercados, y peleamos con ellos, y ellos con nosotros, todo el dia, "hasta una hora antes de puesto el sol, que se retrajéron."); *they continued advancing however all day*, and at night occupied the defensive position which Cortés thereafter held until the Tlaxcallans submitted. "Aquella noche me fice fuerte en una torrecilla "de ídolos que estaba en un cerito." On the following day Cortés made a successful razzia upon five or six small settlements, and on the next morning the Tlaxcallans in turn attempted to attack the Spanish camp. This attack was speedily repulsed, the Spaniards fortifying their position so, "que en obra de cuatro horas habiamos fecho "lugar para que en nuestro real no nos ofendiesen, puesto que todavia hacian algunos "arremetidas." In other words, the Tlaxcallans rushed up against the encampment, were beaten back, and then hovered around during the remainder of the day, skirmishing, and attempting to draw their foes into ambushes which they held prepared. From this time on the Indians never assaulted, but Cortés made occasional sallies and forays, revictualling his men, and burning the houses and crops of the natives, until the tribe made proposals of peace.

Andrés de Tapia, another eye witness, an officer of high rank. ("Relacion, Col: "de Doc, II, pp. 347 and 368") fully confirms the statement of Cortés. The first day's engagement he describes as follows: "And about eight in the morning there sallied "forth against us so many men of war, that it strikes me as if there had been one hun-"dred thousand, while some are of opinion that there were many more. Some of them "expected us in certain deep ravines of streams crossing our path, and, traversing "them with much difficulty, we went in against them.....The Marquis always went in "the lead with the horsemen, fighting, and returning from time to time to concert his "men, keeping them close together.....Some Indians would close up with the horsemen "so as to seize their lances, and thus while *fighting they proceeded that day* to a house "of idols near which were two or three huts. There the Spaniards established them-"selves during eighteen days, and went out fighting as the Marquis commanded. . ."

. . . . .

According to the above two eye-witnesses, the "great battle" of the 2d Sept: 1519. (Prescott Vol. I, p. 427) appears on the part of the Indians, to have consisted of a wild rush or dash (perhaps a feint) speedily repulsed, an ambush, soon forced, and for the remainder of the day constant skirmishing and harassing of the Spanish march, until the latter reached a strong position. The "decisive victory" of the 5th Sept: 1519 (Prescott, Vol. I, pp. 437–447) was a fierce onslaught upon the Spanish camp at daybreak ("Otro "dia en amaneciendo dan sobre nuestro real mas de ciento y cuarenta y nueve mil "hombres," Cortés, p. 16) which met with a prompt repulse, and the remainder of the day was also filled with more or less heavy skirmishing on both sides. These are the two prominent days of fighting during the entire two weeks of hostilities against Tlaxcallan, and they certainly were not pitched battles, as commonly admitted. An atten-

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blo of Zacamulco in the morning. Harrassed in flank and rear by the Mexicans who, not any longer checked by the volleys of musketry, dashed up to closer quarters, the Spaniards toiled on, fighting and marching, until, in the plains of Apan, they were completely surrounded on all sides. This was the *final ambush* prepared for them by the Mexicans. The engagement *there* must have been of the most desperate character, but it was of *short duration*, the Spaniards, with the courage of despair, cutting their way out. The Indians had so firmly relied upon annihilating their foes on that day that they desisted from future pursuit.[204]

The engagements near Otumpan were the last conflicts occurring after the terrible night of the 1st of July, 1520, and previous to the resumption of the campaign by Cortés, from his headquarters at Tlaxcallan. The numerous actions which took place after-

tive and critical reading even of the third eye-witness, the too much esteemed Bernal-Diez del Castillo ("Historia verdadera" in Vedia II, Caps. LXIII, LXIV, LXV, p. 35 to 38) confirms those views to the fullest possible extent, although the latter, bent upon recollecting personal incidents, and, from his subaltern position, less acquainted with general operations, enhances the importance of the action beyond the limits of truth.

It must not be inferred from the above that the achievements of the Spaniards are therefore less memorable. If the fighting was on a scale different from that of European wars, it was none the less exhausting. Any charge of a few horsemen could scatter the enemy, but the next moment a new attack, from some unexpected quarter might be looked for. The danger consisted less in injury on the battlefield, than in the gradual wearing out of the men by the never ceasing watchfulness required. The successful result reflects the highest credit upon the military capacity of the Spaniards, as well as upon their great commander.

[204] Cortés ("Carta Segunda.") pp. 45, 46. "And it appeared as if the Holy Ghost had "enlightened me by this advice, after what occurred the next day. For, having moved "on in the morning, at the distance of one and a half leagues large numbers of Indians "came to meet us, so that in the van, rear and flanks the field seemed covered with "them, and they assailed us with such violence, that we hardly knew each other, from "being mixed up with them. . . . In this condition we *remained much of the whole* "*day*, until it pleased God that one of their number was killed, who appeared to be of "such quality, that with his death the fight ceased. Then we proceeded, somewhat "relieved, but nevertheless exhausted, until to a small house in the plain, where we "staid for the night." . . . . .

The ambush had been prepared for several days (Bernal-Diez, Cap. CXXVIII, p. 136), for during their incessant pursuit on the preceding days the Mexicans had shouted to them: "Thither you shall go where none of you will escape alive" (p. 136). Sahagun (Lib. XII, Cap. XXVII, p. 436) says the Spaniards halted: "Los Españoles como los "vieron ir tras si con gran prisa entendieron que querian pelear y pararonse y pusiéronse "en órden de guerra; y los mexicanos como eran muchos tomaron en medio á los Espa-"ñoles y comenzaron á combatirlos de todas partes." See also Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist: "des Chichimeques" Cap. LXXXIX). It was certainly a hand to hand conflict, the Indians, feeling sure to overpower their foes, striving to *capture* as many of them as possible alive. This, and the few horses remaining, saved the Spanish troop.

It is upon the statement of Bernal-Diez, that when the emblem or token carried by or near one of the principal chiefs fell, the fight ceased, that the conception has arisen, as if the fall of the chief banner decided the fate of an engagement. But there is no other evidence of the existence of a central banner or emblem.

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726 wards are of minor interest to us up to the time when the siege of
175 Mexico began. A rapid sketch of the events of this siege, how-
ever, should illustrate the *defensive* warfare of the Mexicans.

648 It is well known how, by a shrewd policy, as well as by able
175 strategy, Cortés succeeded in *dismembering*, rather than overpow-
726 ering, the Nahuatl confederacy of the valley of Mexico. He thus isolated the Mexican tribe proper, cut off its sources of reinforcement, and, above all, cut off its *subsistence*, by depriving it of tribute and barter. The time came at last when even those pueblos on the lake shores nearest to Mexico could not, or would not, any longer recognize friendly connections with their former military head. The surface of the water-sheet and the causeways were alone left to the tribe and to such additional warriors as had joined them in their abode, from the outside, to share their fate. As long as the lake could be freely navigated by Mexican canoes, any point of the mainland was exposed to attack by their warriors. Therefore Cortés launched his boats or "brigantines," which soon cleared Lake Tezcuco proper, driving the canoes to shelter in the narrow canals which ran all through the pueblo. His land forces occupied three out of the four issues of the causeways on the mainland. Thus the Mexicans were effectually hemmed in, without any outlet beyond the limited circulation on the ponds lying west of the chief causeways. Cortés' first step was to seize Chapultepec, and to cut off the supply of fresh water running thence along the causeway to Mexico.[365] Thus deprived of drinking water, almost, since that of the lagune was not wholesome, with limited supplies of food only, the Mexican tribe was surrounded by human enemies *without*, whilst two of the greatest plagues of mankind, thirst and famine, were sure to threaten them, ultimately, *within*.

[365] Mexico was provided with a constant supply of fresh water from Chapultepec. (Clavigero, Lib. VII, Cap. LIV.) The channels were constructed of stone, five feet high, and two feet broad (Cortés, "Carta Segunda"). It was one of the first moves of Cortés to seize the spring supplying these channels. The Mexicans, feeling the importance of the action, defended the position desperately. (Bernal-Diaz. Cap. CL, p. 176.) "Acor-"damos que entrambas capitanías juntas fuésemos á quebrar el agua de chapultepeque "de que se proveia la ciudad, que estaba desde allí de Tacuba una no media legua. "E yendo á los quebrar los caños, toparonnos muchos guerreros, que nos esperaban en "el camino; porque bien entendido tenian que aquello había de ser el primero en que "los podríamos dañar; y así como nos encontraron ovan de unos pasos malos, comen-"saron á nos flechar y tirar vara y piedra con hondas, é nos hirieron á tres soldados; "mas de presto los hicimos volver las espaldas, y nuestros amigos los de Tlascala les "siguieron de manera, que mataron veinte y prendieron ciento ó ocho deños; y como "aquellos grandes escuadrones estuvieron puestos en huida, los quebramos los caños "por donde iba el agua á su ciudad, y desde entonces nunca se fué á Mejico entre tanto "que duró la guerra." (Also Cortés. 1 Carta III, p. 71.)

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174 a retreat would prove under such circumstances, so, followed by
726 their native allies, they persisted and overcame the obstacles by *storm*. The very Indian tactics intended for the destruction of the whites enabled the latter to gain a foothold on the causeways with less loss than a directly planned assault would have entailed.[209]

● 175 Until then, the Mexicans could make use of canoes, harassing
726 both flank and rear of their enemies. But Cortés speedily widened the first cut in the causeway, and sent his scows with artillery to the west side.[210] Thence on, while the brigantines could not effect anything against the pueblo itself, they still kept at bay the canoes of the Mexicans, and moving up along the causeways with the land force, they successfully sustained, by a lively cannonade, the efforts of the latter against the defences at the cuts and ditches.[211]

the water. Bernal-Diez (Cap. CL., pp. 176, 177) relates that, after the corps of Alvarado had occupied Tacuba, the Mexicans began to shout to them vociferously from the causeways and the water (then yet free to them). "Y aquellas palabras que nos decian eran "con pensamiento de nos indignar para que saliésemos aquella noche à guerrear, y herir- "nos mas á su salvo." Further on he says: "Y como aquello hubimos hecho, acordaron "nuestros capitanes que luego fuésemos á dar una vista y entrar por la calzada de Tacu- "ba y hacer lo que pudiésemos para los ganar una puente; y llegados que fuimos á la "calzada, eran tantas las canoas que en la laguna estaban llenas de guerreros y en las "mismas canoas y calzadas, que nos admirábamos dello; y tiraron tanta de vara y "flecha y piedra con hondas, que en la primera refriega hirieron treinta de nuestros "soldados é murieron trés; y aunque nos hacian tanto daño, todavia les fuimos entrando "por la calzada adelante hasta una puente, y à lo que yo entendí, ellos nos daban lugar "à ello, por meternos de la parte de la puente; y como allí nos tuvieron, digo que car- "garon tanta multitud de gue.reros sobre nosotros que no nos podiamos valer." The Mexicans always *provoked* the Spanish attack, until the brigantines were masters of the ponds lying to the west of Mexico, also. (See also Cortés, "Carta tercera," Vedia I, p. 71."

[209] The first attack of Alvarado was repulsed. But subsequently they captured "many works and bridges." The fighting was very obstinate, the Mexicans charging at every hour of the day and night. See Prescott (Vol. III, Book VI, Cap. p. 106 and 107). "During the first five or six days after their encampment, the Spaniards experi- "enced much annoyance from the enemy, who too late endeavored to prevent their "taking up a position so near the capital, and which, had they known much of the sci- "ence of war, they would have taken better care themselves to secure. Contrary to "their usual practice the Indians made their attacks by night as well as by day. The "water swarmed with canoes, which hovered at a distance in terror of the brigantines, "but still approached near enough, especially under cover of the darkness, to send "showers of arrows into the Christian camp."

[210] The brigantines were flat-bottomed scows, manned with small guns. Even on the water, the Mexicans resorted to ambushes. The vicinity of the pueblo was surrounded by rows of pointed piles, below the surface of the lake, and squadrons of canoes were sent to decoy the brigantines into such treacherous places. On one occasion they succeeded in capturing one of the vessels in this manner. (Prescott, Vol. III, p. 28, quoting from Bernal-Diez.)

[211] The points occupied by the three Spanish divisions were: Tepeyacac (Guadalupe Hidalgo), at the north, Tacuba at the west, and Cuyuacan to the southwest. It was originally intended to occupy Iztapalapan, but the position could not be carried, and

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In this manner the favorite Mexican tactics of decoy and ambush were gradually overcome step by step, with little loss of life. Their treacherous sallies were not only not dreaded, they were even *desired*, since each of them procured a new basis to the assailants, who thus eventually reached, from three sides, the entrance to the pueblo. This pueblo lay before them seemingly open and unfortified. It was not a connected town, but a group of minor clusters, interspersed with gardens, through which water courses filtered in all directions. From large squares, massive truncated pyramids arose, crowned with houses of worship. A few wide thoroughfares led up to the main teo-calli, which the Spaniards regarded as the centre of the settlement. The Mexicans had again cut these thoroughfares, erecting bulwarks of stone and earth behind them. These defences could be carried by storm, and the heart of the pueblo reached. But once there, and far enough from their basis, the victorious Spaniards saw the flat housetops suddenly swarm with Indians, which showered all kinds of missiles upon them. Into their rear large bodies of warriors poured by alleys and cross-streets, occupying the very trenches they had just passed. Nothing remained for the assailants but to retreat upon the causeways; a movement not always easy, and certainly attended with loss. In order to avoid such dangerous ambushes, in which the temples served as decoys, and each communal dwelling as a hiding place for the enemy, Cortés was compelled to advance slowly and cautiously. No trench was left in the rear without being properly filled up, and in the end, seeing that the entire pueblo was but a complicated trap where every house was an eventual stronghold, he resorted much against his will, to the desperate expedient of levelling to the ground all constructions which might afford lurking places to the Mexicans.

Thus, step by step, the tribe of Mexico was driven into a narrower space. A constantly widening girdle of smouldering ruins closed upon them from all sides, and if, with the energy of despair, they dashed time and again upon this ghastly belt, they met at its inner limits their wary foes, which hurled them back, im-

thus Sandoval, who commanded, marched his corps to the north side. The division advancing from Cuyuacan soon seized Xoloc, where the dykes met, and cut off all communication with the south. The brigantines, after clearing the lake, and dislodging the Mexicans from some eminences arising above the water, where small "teo-calli" had been erected, kept up communication between the three divisions, and assisted them in their efforts against the trenches of the causeways.

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175 proving the opportunity to advance further towards them.
726 Meanwhile, hunger was looming up in their midst, engendering pestilence. Their bodies were weakening day by day, there were no means of subsistence left, the women and children wandered about like living corpses, without fear of Cortés' ruthless Indian
645 allies. Still the tribe did not submit, and when, twice, the war-chiefs represented the futility of future defence, the "chief council," as supreme authority, sternly declared: "that it was better to die "fighting, than to remain in the power of those who would en-"slave and torture them."[212] At last, on the 13th of August, 1521, Cortés, advancing "across the black and blasted environs "which lay around the Indian capital," ordered a final onslaught upon the miserable remnants of the Mexicans: "huddled together "in the utmost confusion, all ages and sexes, in masses so dense "that they nearly forced one another over the brink of the cause-"ways into the water below. Some had climbed on the terraces, "others feebly supported themselves against the walls of the "buildings. Their squalid and tattered garments gave a wildness "to their appearance, which still further heightened the ferocity of "their expression, as they glared on their foes with eyes in which "hate was mingled with despair."[213] Exposed to a destructive fire from all sides, the half famished crowd attempted a feeble resistance, then scattered, preferring flight to surrender. But they were speedily overtaken and the principal chiefs captured, thus leaving Mexico definitively in the hands of the Spaniards.

726 We have purposely dwelt at some length on the events of the
642 siege of the pueblo of Mexico. It is because they illustrate, better than any other page of their history, Indian *defensive* warfare, carried to its highest point of development. The Mexicans, during this memorable defence, achieved the most that any Indian tribe could achieve, up to the Sixteenth Century. Their resistance, in that respect, stands *unparalleled*. Besides, its very tenacity, the fortitude with which they bore, without yielding, the greatest sufferings, are a further evidence that what they did, was not out of fear of a crushing despotism ruling them with an

[212] Bernal-Diez (Vedia II, cap. CLIV, p. 191, and CLV, p. 191). The Council opposed the advice of Quauhtemotzin, who was for surrender:—"poniendole por delante el fin de su tio el gran montezuma," p. 194.

[213] W. H. Prescott (Book VI, cap VIII, p. 200 and 201).

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This incident in Mexican history does not exhibit any features different from those found at the basis of tribal society, and it is not until the first decade of the sixteenth century that we are referred to the period when aboriginal institutions of ancient Mexico emerged from their former condition into that of political society proper and exhibited the features of rule as despotic as any on the three eastern continents. Even Robertson has so far yielded to this preconceived idea as to write, "This appearance of inconsistency has arisen from inattention to the innovations of Montezuma upon the Mexican policy. His aspiring ambition subverted the original system of government, and introduced a pure despotism. He disregarded the ancient laws, violated the privileges held most sacred, and reduced his subjects of every order to the level of slaves."[60] In general, many deeds, creditable and disreputable, are charged to that ill-starred "chief of men" of the Mexican tribe, whose tragical death has furnished a welcome topic to the most brilliant writers. "Wrathy chief" (Motecuzumah or Montezuma) was however innocent of many or of the most, if

seis parcialidades, que cada cual tiene sus barrios." This is indefinite and vague, and we are still left in doubt as to whether there were only six or whether there were more. The words "each of which has its quarters" would indicate that each of these "parcialidades" was divided into smaller ones. Still, "parcialidad" and "barrio" are regarded as equivalent terms, and both signify *Mas*. The history of the capture of the Mexican pueblo has, in some details of the siege, preserved to us the names of some aboriginal "barrios" of Tlatilulco. *Velancurt* (Vol. II, Part. III, Trat. II, cap. VII, p. 194) mentions two of them: "Yocacolco" (with the ermita of Santa-Ana) and "Amaxac" (ermita of Santa Lucia), the latter of which is again named (Cap. X. p. 206) by him, and by Torquemada also. *Torquemada* gives a number of names even: Nonohualco (Lib. IV, cap. XCIII, pp. 561, 562), Yacocalco (p. 536), Tlacuchcalco (p. 553), Amaxac, Coyonacazco (p. 562). This gives the names of five barrios of Tlatilulco. If to this we add "el Barrio, que se llama Xocotitlan, que es agora San Francisco, que por otro nombre se llama Cihuatecpan," (p. 552), we would have the sixth quarter also.

That the administration of Tlatilulco remained separate from that of Tenuchtitlan is proven by the fact that Montezuma was assisted by twenty chiefs corresponding to the twenty kins of the *Tenuchca only*, and without representation for the Tlatilulca. See *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCV, p. 95, Vedia II). But the war-chief of Tlatilulco was present at the council. Thus "Itzquauhtin" is frequently mentioned as the companion of Montezuma. *Sahagun* (Lib. XII, cap. XVI. p. 24; cap. XVII, p. 25; cap. XXI, p. 28; cap. XXIII, p. 31). *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. LXX. pp. 488, 489). *Velancurt* (Vol. II, cap. XV, Parte III, p. 132). *Clavigero* (Vol. II, Lib. IX, cap. XIX, p. 153).

Of the hatred between Mexicans proper and Tlatilulca the last days of the siege of Mexico furnish numerous instances. Both *Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. XCII, p. 580) and *Velancurt* (Parte III, cap. VI of 2d Trat., p. 138) mention the flight of the former into Tlatilulco as taking refuge among enemies. Finally the following passage is sufficiently plain: *Duran* (Cap. XXXIV, p. 271), "E fué tanta la pertinacia de los Mexicanos, que hasta que los españoles vinieron á la tierra no les dejaron tornar á libertad ninguna, ni á tener templo particular."

[60] "*History of America*," (9th Edition, 1809, Vol. III, Book VII, p. 291).

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not all, of these good or bad actions, and this simply for the reason that he had not the power to commit them. Thus he is charged with remodelling his household, removing certain assistants, and filling the vacancies with "scions of noble stock," creating, at the same time, hereditary charges. It may be that, in the case of simple runners for instance, the "chief of men" held ample authority to select his men, consequently to remove them; but it is certain that for any office of permanence with the kin or tribe, he had not the least discretionary power. How insignificant his influence even was, when severed from organized tribal government, is amply shown by his utter helplessness from the very moment that the Spaniards had *once* treated him as a fettered captive.[61]

[61] The name is variously written "Mutizuma," "Moteczuma," "Moctezuma," "Montezuma," "Mocthezuzoma," "Motecuhzoma;" and "Señor severo," is the most current interpretation. On the tables of *Durán* (Trat. I. Lam. 7, 8, 9, 21, 23, 24, 26) and in general, the "name" is painted as the head-dress ("Xiuhhuitzolli") of a chieftain, transpierced by an arrow. The etymology may be: "mo"—"thine," "tecuhtli"—"chief," and "çumale"—"furious and wrathy" (*Molina*, II, p. 28), therefore "wrathy chief," or "stern chief." Aside from the charges prefered against him by Ixtlilxochitl and his "school" of subverting gradually the basis of the confederacy, Mexican authors accuse him of having revolutionized the institutions of his own tribe. These reports have been beautifully remodelled into classical English by *Mr. Prescott* ("*Conquest of Mexico*," Book II, cap. VI, pp. 309 and 310). *Mr. H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. V, pp. 457, 473, 474, 475, etc.), is equally careful in reproducing all such tales, or a résumé thereof, in a shape more palatable to refined and impressionable readers.

The substance of these accusations becomes, however, reduced to the following statements, as expressed by *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LXXXIII, pp. 145 and 146): "He said once to Zihuacoatl Tlipotonqui: I have thought it might be well to change the manner in which the chiefs and messengers should be selected and to establish a different way from that introduced under my uncle Ahuitzotl. Let those serving within their lifetime, be dismissed and others put in their places, elected from the four quarters of Moyotlan, Teopan, Aztacualco, and Cuepopan,—which shall be children of chiefs, and shall stay at the huehuecalli, or houses of the community, with the chief-steward dwelling near by. Some of the principals of this tribe now have sons, begotten from slaves, now—these are principals, and let them become delegates (ambassadors, messengers, "embajadores"), and not be cast aside for a miserable macehual who because he is Tequihua, Cacauhtli, or Cuachic, Otomies, should therefore be set over the principal Mexican chiefs, and the sons of head-chiefs (Kings, "reyes") . . . . . What I want is to bring forth those children of chieftains, which have been forgotten so long, and that such as hold the office under the chief Ahuitzotl and your father Zihuacoatl may return to rest. . . . . Zihuacoatl then called together the council: "al palacio, comun," and submitted to them this suggestion, "of which they were all satisfied." With this resolution Zihuacoatl went to the chief and said: I do not want them to be of age now, but only ten or twelve years old, that they may be instructed properly, and become skilled in speaking, well disposed, like unto pages to the chieftain. When they had come before Zihuacoatl, as second person of the chief, he made a long speech to them concerning their line of conduct: Every day you shall attend to Huitzilopochtli and to the chief, rising early for orations, and doing the same at nightfall, to become expert in the ways of penitence and sacrifice. Then you shall cleanse the temple, and the chief-house, afterwards have it swept before he comes

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It is therefore vain to look for any important change in the institutions of the ancient Mexicans even at this third and latest date, which was the last chance, so to say, if any at all, for such

ent. Keep your dresses clean and in order, also his own dress and ornaments; his tress, medal, and chain; also every five days his blow-tube and bow, that he may recreate himself with it. Attend to him at meal-time, morning and evening, serving him with cacao, roses, perfumes, with much humility and respect, never looking into his face under pain of death. Take care that the cooking be well done, and that the stewards provide for everything. But, while there you stay, beware, for many women of worth are seen there, and to whose needs you have also to attend,—watch your behavior, for should you attempt anything against them, you and your relations will be driven off, and if you commit any bad action with any of these women, your fathers houses will be razed, salt strewn over their ruins, and you and your lineage must perish." At the close of this and other (less important) talk it is said: "and in course of time they became so well bred, refined, and instructed, and skilful, that they were of the most prominent chieftains and leading men in this house and court." *Durán* (Cap. LII, pp. 416–422) does not fail to confirm the statements of Tezozomoc, extending, however, the removals to nearly all the offices: "así en el servicio de sus casa y persona, como en el régimen de la provincia y reyno" (p. 417); also excluding illegitimate offspring ("aunque bastardo"), and giving a number of more or less pertinent details. He even asserts that the officers of the kins were removed. In short, he represents it as the introduction of absolute despotism, surrounding at the same time the throne by a powerful nobility. *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. 21. p. 503) and *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. II, cap. XIV, p. 68), "porqué mandó, que no le sirviesen sino nobles, i que la Gente Ilustre estuviese en su Palacio, i exercitase oficios de su Casa, i Corte." *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIX, p. 196), *Veiancurt* (Part II, Trat. I, cap. XIX, p. 328), and others, confirm, although in a more concise style than the first named authors. It is evident that all these authors must have gathered from the same source, which cannot be *Sahagun*, nor *Motolinia*, neither *Mendieta*, nor any of the known conquerors. The story, as told and detailed by Durán, presupposes a class of hereditary nobles, already formed and in full vigor, but excluded in part from tenure of office or rather sharing such right of tenure equally with those of the common class. This is distinctly acknowledged by Tezozomoc, and more particularly yet by Durán himself: "y mudar todos los que su tio Auitzotl auia puesto y de los que se auia servido, porque muchas dellos eran de baxa suerte y hijos de hombres baxos," p. 417, etc. Now I have proven ("*Tenure of Lands*, pp. 419, 420, 421, etc., to p. 448) that there was no privileged class based on tenure of the soil. The revolution assumed presupposes that there was, up to the last "wrathy chief," no class of nobles in exclusive possession of the offices, consequently, even if the "chief of men" in question had any inclination or desire to oust the "common people" from their official positions, the main desideratum, namely, the "uncommon" ones wherewith to replace them, and for whose benefit the whole affair was planned, were not on hand. For nobility not based on hereditary ownership, or hereditary command of some kind, is no nobility at all. As far as heredity of office is concerned, Durán himself is one of the most powerful witnesses against it (*e. g.*, Cap. LXIV, pp. 498 and 499). If, therefore, "wrathy chief" created a class of privileged office-holders about the year 1503, it must have been very short-lived, for it was certainly out of existence sixteen years later, at the beginning of the Spanish conquest.

The version of Tezozomoc is evidently the correct one, and thus the whole story dwindles down to the selection of certain boys, probably of his own kin, for the special service of the tribal house of government, which took place *with the knowledge and consent of the council only*. Whether this act, if converted into a custom, might have gradually merged into prevalence of a certain kin over the rest, is another question, which the intervening conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, has left without decisive answer. About the helplessness of Montezuma while a captive, see authors on the Conquest in general.